

French troops massacre Kanaks in New Caledonia

BY GEORGE FYSON

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — "Neither the dead, nor the tears, nor the sufferings and humiliations, will shake the determination of the Kanak people to carry on the struggle until the final liberation of our land."

That was the response of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) to the May 5 massacre by French forces of 19 Kanaks on the island of Ouvéa in New Caledonia. The 19 were butchered during a military assault to release 23 French cops being held hostage on Ouvéa.

New Caledonia is a French colony in the South Pacific. The FLNKS is a coalition of organizations demanding independence. It is supported by the overwhelming majority of Kanaks, the indigenous people of New Caledonia.

The French government claims the 19 Kanaks were killed in a shoot-out. This has been disputed here by FLNKS representative Susanna Ounei, who lost two brothers in the massacre.

One eyewitness who survived the assault described how three of the group, including the leader, Alphonse Dianou, were shot and wounded and then beaten after they surrendered to French forces. They were later declared dead.

Other witnesses have described how the wounded and dead alike were piled together in a helicopter and flown to Ouvéa airport where their bodies were then dumped from the air. Many of the Kanaks are reported to

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Kanaks march in support of independence for French-ruled New Caledonia. May 5 deadly assault by French troops shows true face of colonial rule.

Target week set for circulation drive

BY NORTON SANDLER

We urge readers of the *Militant* to join us in the May 21-27 target week of our circulation campaign.

During that stretch, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells will be making a special effort to increase the readership of the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

The international drive to add 9,000 new readers by June 15 is behind schedule. Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* and *New International* are running even further behind than those of the *Militant*. Distributors in local areas can make mobilizations during the target week a key part of their fight to reach the goal for all three publications.

The Oct. 19, 1987, stock market crash, which hit in the midst of a decade-long offensive by the employers, has shaken working people. Many sense the depression that they know is coming will have a devastating impact on their lives. And a growing number are beginning to become aware that they are part of a world that's bigger than their plant or industry, or even their country.

They are open to discussing the steps the SWP candidates propose for uniting working people at home and internationally to fight for protection from the effects of the crisis.

Every issue of the *Militant* and *PM* discusses some aspects of the ideas the socialists are raising.

The *Militant*'s bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, provides our readers with unique news and analysis of events in that country. A good example is the article in this issue by Larry Seigle, which describes the challenges facing Nicaraguan workers and farmers now that the contra war is over.

Militant subscribers are also able to follow developments in the fight to overturn

the police frame-up of Des Moines political activist Mark Curtis.

Perspectiva Mundial includes many articles translated from the *Militant*, making them available to workers and farmers whose first language is Spanish.

Experience in this circulation drive has shown that people interested in the *Militant* and *PM* are also interested in *New International*. The magazine takes up in depth many of the same ideas addressed in the *Militant* and carries speeches, articles, and documents by Marxist leaders.

Polish workers end strike

BY SAM MANUEL

Workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, voted May 10 to end their strike. About 500 workers who had occupied the shipyard for nine days marched in orderly fashion from the shipyard to St. Brygida's Church for a mass and rally.

A statement issued by the strikers said, "This time we did not manage to win. We are not leaving the shipyard in triumph. We are leaving it with our heads held high, convinced of the worthiness and righteousness of our protest."

Small crowds of people gathered in the presence of riot police and applauded the strikers. Others shouted out, "We thank you."

The 15-member strike committee voted to recommend ending the strike following a five-hour meeting with Tadeusz Goclowski, the bishop of Gdansk. Lech Walesa, a founder of the Solidarity union, urged the strikers to leave the yard "with your heads high."

The strike began on May 2, when thousands of workers walked out of the giant shipyard demanding pay increases and restoration of the banned Solidarity union. They were also demonstrating their support

of striking workers at the Lenin steelworks in Nowa Huta.

Two days before ending the shipyard strike, the workers rejected a settlement offer that had been negotiated by management and Solidarity leaders. Under the terms of the offer the workers would receive a pay increase and assurance that no action would be taken against those who participated in the strike. In exchange the workers would drop their demand for the immediate legalization of Solidarity.

The main stumbling block in the offer was management's rejection of the strikers' proposal for the creation of a workers' commission to oversee adherence to the accord by the government and management.

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, a former Solidarity adviser and now a member of a special advisory council to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of Poland, came to the yard to seek the workers' support for the offer. He reported that in addition to the pay increases the government would also release many political prisoners, including top Solidarity leaders.

According to a May 10 *Washington Post* report, a strike leader took the microphone to speak following Sila-Nowicki. Soon the

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Nicaraguan revolution enters new stage

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The end of the U.S.-organized contra war is a huge step forward for the Nicaraguan revolution. Washington has not altered its determination to get rid of the Sandinista government. But the major weapon that U.S. imperialism has used in hopes of achieving this objective — the contra army — has been shattered.

The rulers of the United States will now put greater weight on other weapons in their arsenal in working to weaken the San-

Build June 11 peace protests in New York, San Francisco; see editorial on page 14.

dinista government. They will try to starve Nicaragua through their trade embargo.

And they will try to find ways to bolster the efforts of reactionary forces inside the country, who long for the days before the workers and farmers took political power here.

But none of this alters the fact that the end of the contra war radically shifts the terrain on which the struggle to defend and deepen the Nicaraguan revolution takes place. This change is greatly to the advantage of the workers and working farmers, and to the disadvantage of the exploiters. At the same time it poses new challenges for those who want to lead the revolution forward.

This new stage represents an opportunity for the Nicaraguan revolution to overcome obstacles that until now have been hard to move past. These obstacles have been inevitable consequences of policies required by the war and the relationship of class forces inside Nicaragua.

One aspect has been the need for the Sandinista leadership to follow a course of promoting national unity in the fight against the imperialist-backed contra war.

The other has been the necessity for emergency administrative measures — including the use of army and police power — to deal with economic and political problems.

In the face of the imperialist-funded war against Nicaragua, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) sought to forge the broadest possible united action front to defend the country.

The Sandinistas called on all social classes and political currents to defend, arms in hand, Nicaragua's right to self-determination.

This policy was essential in winning the war. Had the FSLN sought to mobilize only workers and poor farmers, or only those who politically identified with the FSLN, the war would have been lost.

Such a course would have cut off the possibility of winning support for national defense among the middle classes and even from some capitalists. It also would have alienated many working people in the city and the countryside who have not yet been won to identify politically with the FSLN.

But the national unity course carried with it a price tag. It has made it more difficult to see the fundamental fact that the class struggle between the working classes and the exploiting classes is the driving force of change in Nicaragua today.

The rural landlord class has been virtually eliminated, but there remains a powerful

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New Caledonia: French troops murder Kanaks

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have had their faces shot away.

All the French hostages were released by the Kanaks unharmed.

In a further effort to suppress the truth, 29 Kanaks from Ouvéa, including 14 who survived the massacre, have now been flown by the French military to a prison in Paris. Relatives of the dead have been refused access to the bodies, which were buried in a mass grave on Ouvéa May 8.

Events leading up to the massacre began April 22, when Kanak supporters of independence on Ouvéa clashed with French cops. The paramilitary forces had been sent to the island to suppress Kanak protests against April 24 elections for a new colonial government in New Caledonia. Four cops were killed in the clash, and 27 taken hostage. Twelve were subsequently released.

Eight others were taken hostage on April 27. They included six members of the French GIGN (Intervention Group of the

National Gendarmerie), an elite, 80-member "antiterrorist" unit. It was the GIGN that conducted the assassination of FLNKS leader Eloi Machoro in January 1985.

The May 5 massacre was carried out by forces of the GIGN and of the 11th Paratroop Regiment of the DGSE (General Directorate of External Security), the French secret service. Two DGSE agents were killed in the May 5 assault.

In exchange for the hostages, the Kanaks had been demanding that French forces be withdrawn from Ouvéa and that Paris send a mediator to New Caledonia to hold talks with the FLNKS.

In the days leading up to May 5, the population of Ouvéa, numbering around 2,700, was subjected to mass interrogation and military terror by French forces. The terror campaign has continued following the massacre.

Elsewhere in New Caledonia, French forces have been on "maximum alert" since the massacre.

Military occupation

A massive military occupation of New Caledonia was carried out by the French government prior to the April 24 elections.

The elections for a new colonial government coincided with the first of two rounds of voting in the French presidential campaign. The FLNKS had called for an "active boycott" of both ballots, and for protests to continue up through May 8, the date of the second round.

Following the April 22 clash on Ouvéa, and protests by Kanaks elsewhere in the country, additional plane loads of troops and cops were rushed to New Caledonia, boosting the number of French forces in the colony to well over 10,000.

Responding to the buildup, FLNKS leader Yeiwene Yeiwene declared, "France, the

world's fourth leading power, a country of 55 million people, is engaged here in a colonial war against no more than 60,000 people."

The May 5 assault on Ouvéa was ordered by French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and approved by President François Mitterrand.

On May 7, 3,000 people gathered in a Kanak suburb of the capital, Nouméa, to protest the massacre and honor the dead. French riot police armed with rifles and tear gas blockaded the suburb and prevented the demonstrators from marching.

The French authorities agreed to a demand by the protesters to transport relatives of the dead from Nouméa to Ouvéa to attend their funeral on May 8. When the relatives arrived at Nouméa airport, however, they were turned away.

Protests in South Pacific

A protest of 1,000 was also held in May 7 in Tahiti, French Polynesia, France's other South Pacific colony. In the South Pacific country of Vanuatu, 200 protesters laid siege to the French embassy in Port Vila, the capital, throughout May 8. The prime minister of Vanuatu, Walter Lini, and the prime minister of Papua New

Guinea, Paia Wingti, have called for the immediate withdrawal of French forces from New Caledonia.

Despite the massive French armed presence, protests by Kanaks have been continuing. Barricades have been erected in many parts of the country, particularly in the Kanak-dominated east coast and northern part of the main island.

The Kanak protesters have faced ongoing attacks from the French cops and military, firing tear gas and bullets. A number have been killed.

In Hienghène in the north, FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou had a narrow escape when a grenade was thrown at him by a French cop during a demonstration April 23.

In Nouméa, bombing, shooting, and other terrorist attacks have been carried out by right-wing anti-independence groups against FLNKS members and offices.

The FLNKS has called on Mitterrand, who was reelected president May 8, to reverse the policies of the Chirac government in New Caledonia. While welcoming his victory over Chirac, the FLNKS said it would judge Mitterrand by his actions.

In an official statement, the FLNKS called on the Kanak people and other supporters of the independence struggle to continue to mobilize in the wake of the Ouvéa massacre.

Warren, Mickells solidarize with Kanak fighters

The following statement was sent to the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) of New Caledonia on May 11 by James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president.

We wish to express our outrage at the cold-blooded slaughter of 19 Kanak people on May 5 for the "crime" of opposing the French military occupation and colonial rule in New Caledonia.

This blow will not break the struggle of the Kanak people, any more than the 1985 assassination of FLNKS leader Eloi Machoro by French forces succeeded in doing. Young fighters will come forward to take the places of the fallen.

The crimes of the French rulers in your country have outraged growing numbers of working people and youth in France, the South Pacific, and around the world. We solidarize with their protests.

The 19 martyrs will be honored and mourned by fighters for freedom internationally. We join you in demanding that their murderers be brought to justice.

We add our voices to yours in calling on the French government to withdraw all its military and police forces from your country immediately! Independence now for New Caledonia!

Mark Curtis wins new support

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee met at the Pathfinder bookstore here May 4 to discuss the national campaign to defend Mark Curtis. Curtis is a political activist and meat-packer who was framed-up and brutally beaten by the Des Moines cops last March.

The breadth and impact of the campaign to defend Curtis was reflected in an article

that appeared in the daily *Des Moines Register* the day the committee met. The article, by staff writer Tom Alex, said, "Des Moines police have received more than 400 letters from across the country demanding that charges be dropped against Mark Curtis."

"The case has drawn national support for Curtis from a network of organizations," Alex continued. "Many of the letters contain petitions signed by dozens of Curtis supporters. Police say some letters even have foreign postmarks."

The *Register* gave some examples. "Among the letters received by police was the following, signed by Angel Lariscy of Seattle, Wash.: 'Enclosed please find petitions calling for all charges against Mark Curtis to be dropped. These petitions are the first of many that will be sent to you to protest the vicious frame-up of such an exemplary fighter for human rights.'"

"The enclosed petitions are signed by students, trade unionists, and activists in the Seattle area who are fighting for justice in Central America, the Middle East, and here in the United States. The United Farm Workers of Washington State... also voted to endorse Mark's fight."

"Please be advised that in the Seattle area, supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee will continue to collect signatures and endorsements for Mark's case."

The *Register* interviewed Héctor Marro-
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Paris: 5,000 hit murder of Kanaks

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — More than 5,000 people marched here May 10 to protest the French government's murder of 19 Kanak freedom fighters in the French colony of New Caledonia.

The demonstration came on the heels of reports in the big-business daily *Le Monde* that after they had surrendered, the unarmed Kanaks were lined up against a wall and executed by French troops.

The army claims the activists were killed during an eight-hour gun battle and is threatening to sue *Le Monde* for slander. But a *Le Monde* reporter noted that it is "amazing that none of the trees were touched by bullets" after an eight-hour machine-gun fight and that there were no empty shell cases on the ground.

The Communist Party-led General Confederation of Labor and several left politi-

cal parties participated in the demonstration. Though the Socialist Party abstained from participating, the protest had the backing of the SP-led French Democratic Confederation of Labor.

This was the third demonstration in support of the Kanak struggle here in less than a week. Three thousand participated in a late night march on May 5 organized by supporters of Pierre Juquin, the Communist Renovators candidate in the recent presidential elections.

Another demonstration was called for May 7. But the government banned the march, invoking the French law that prohibits it is illegal to stage demonstrations within 24 hours of an election. (The election was held May 8.)

A thousand people marched in defiance of the ban.

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Elías Castro Ramos

One of Hartford 15 defendants, Puerto Rican independence activists facing government frame-up

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Harry Ring, Judy White (Nicaragua).

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Warren discusses coming crisis with Maine paperworkers

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — "What International Paper Co. is doing to the paperworkers here," said Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Warren, "will become the norm, not the exception, as the economic crisis deepens. So in a sense, you should be grateful for the experience you're gaining." Warren was speaking to a group of striking paperworkers, high school students, and others at a campaign meeting in the Jay-Niles public library May 2.

The meeting was part of a busy two-day stop in this small mill town in central Maine, where 1,250 union paperworkers have been on strike at International Paper's Androscoggin mill for nearly 11 months. During his visit, Warren spoke with members and officers of the striking locals, and other community residents. Throughout his short stay, he discussed the deep, worldwide economic and social crisis signaled by last October's stock market crash, and what working people have to do to prepare to meet this crisis.

"We are going back full-circle to where we were before the last great depression in the 1930s," Warren explained to the meeting. "The period we're in now is similar to the period after the October 1929 stock market crash, before the devastation of the 1930s hit."

"The stock market crash last October was a signal, a warning," Warren continued. "As in 1929, many capitalists are finding it less profitable to invest in new plants and equipment than to buy out other plants or engage in speculative ventures."

Warren said, "A depression is like a strike by the employers against production until they can once again reap maximum profits."

How did the capitalists get out of the last depression? "Through World War II," Warren answered, "through producing the weapons for it, through the massive destruction it caused. Whole economies were destroyed. The reconstruction that came afterward made it profitable for the capitalists to once again invest in plants and equipment."

"Many workers in this country thought the period of prosperity that came after World War II would last forever," Warren continued. "But the employers' attacks on us in recent years — like what's happening here in Jay — have begun to wake us up."

Warren explained that in the depth of the 1930s depression, "plants operated at 50 percent of capacity, and millions of workers went without jobs for years."

"I remember it," the wife of a Jay striker interjected. "We had oatmeal and molasses for breakfast, and a boiled potato for lunch. We had to grow our own food. People forget. But it's going to have to come again to wake people up."

High school students

Several high school students from Jay and neighboring Livermore Falls attended the meeting. They were all sons and daughters of paperworkers, either International Paper strikers or workers at the nearby James River Corp. mill. All had marched April 30th in the labor solidarity rally that drew 6,000 unionists, youth, and activists in support of the paper strikers.

One Jay student — the center on the school's championship football team and son of a striker — is now unable to attend college because his family can't afford it. So he plans to join the marines after graduation. "What do you think about the military?" he asked the socialist candidate.

"Rank-and-file soldiers like you are workers and farmers in uniform," replied Warren. "We're class brothers and sisters. But the military, that's something else. Nowhere in the world does the U.S. military play a progressive role. It can't and it won't."

"I know why you're going into the marines," Warren continued. "To get a job, and I won't try to convince you to change your mind. But remember this. Don't surrender your rights. You can speak out and say what you think about what is

happening in the world.

"Some day," Warren added, "the military will be called on to break strikes." One of the strikers at the meeting called out his agreement. "But I am convinced that the big majority of the sons and daughters of working people in uniform will do their duty, will do what is right, and side with their class."

After the meeting the high school student asked Warren for his autograph on a piece of campaign literature.

Imports

A young striker at the meeting wanted to know whether Warren agreed that imports are bad for U.S. workers. Don't workers have a stake in some form of "protectionism?" he asked.

"The main question," responded Warren, "is do working people have a right to a job? We say, yes. It's not a question of the workers here figuring out how many cars should or shouldn't come into this country. That's not our worry. It's theirs, the capitalists. We need jobs, period. We need to fight for them. The capitalists compete among themselves for labor and markets. That isn't our fight."

"We don't win Japanese or Korean workers to our side by saying we'll fight only for 'American' jobs," Warren continued, "any more than Japanese or Korean workers could win us to their side by fighting just for 'Japanese' jobs. That's why the emergency jobs program we propose is an international one, based on the need for worldwide solidarity among working people."

Others at the meeting asked the socialist candidate for his views on taxation, college loans, how to organize, and on the state of the labor movement.

"I didn't come here with advice," replied Warren to a question about the strike in Jay. "I'm not in the union. But I know this much is true. As long as workers have confidence in the National Labor Relations Board, they cannot win a strike."

"What kind of law is it," asked Warren, "that says, 'Yes, you have a right to strike. And the company has the right to replace you.' You might have 20 years on the job. If you strike, the company can hire a scab. The law says you can only have a handful



Militant/Jon Hillson

Paperworkers on picket duty at gates of International Paper Co.'s mill in Jay, Maine, spent several hours talking with socialist presidential candidate James Warren (left).

of pickets at the plant, which means you can't shut down production. Then in a year, the union can be legally decertified.

"What kind of law is that? What is the NLRB? It's the tool of the employers. So is the government as a whole, and we've been trained to go along with this, and believe in their laws, for 40 years. Laws like that, I say, don't deserve to be respected."

On the picket line

Warren spent several hours talking with pickets at three gates of the huge International Paper pulp and paper mill. The workers described the difficulties of the strike as scabs, many in newly purchased cars, drove past.

Virtually all the pickets expressed frustration at not being able to stop the scabs from entering the mill.

"We've forgotten what it is to strike," said Warren. He spent a year and a half organizing solidarity with the hard-fought 1985-86 meat-packers' strike against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota, as well as with other meatpackers' struggles.

"The strike is the only weapon we have to defend ourselves. When the company hires some scab to take your job, you don't have a job anymore. It's as simple as that. The employers and their laws and courts tie us up in red tape, and say all we can do is shout at the people who've taken our jobs as they drive by us into work. If we try to do anything about that, the employers

shout 'violence.' But the real violence is what the company's done to us, and what it's going to do to us."

Warren urged the pickets to look at working-class struggles of the past. The labor rebellions that built the industrial unions during the 1930s, he said, "have to be studied. We have to learn and relearn our history."

"When the unions were new," Warren explained, "the disputes between us and the bosses were decided on the shop floor, on the basis of who was stronger. You could fit the contract into your pocket, and understand it without a lawyer to translate. As workers, you fought for something, you took what you could, you defended it, and you inspired people."

"The most difficult thing," Warren explained to everyone he spoke with in Jay, from the striker with 30 years in the mill to high school students, "is to look at everything in terms of our interests as a class, here and around the world. We have to start with that. We have to believe in our own worth, not in some con artist who says he knows what's best for us."

"The coming crisis," the socialist candidate said, "will teach us to find our own worth. As the capitalists treat us more and more like the subhumans they really think we are, we will fight back, like we've begun to do in Jay. And we will discover all kinds of talents and abilities they said we never had."

\$50,000 spring campaign fund launched

BY DOUG JENNESS

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party's 1988 presidential ticket are launching a drive to collect \$50,000 by July 9. The national effort will begin May 21. The SWP is running James Warren for president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president.

Kathy Wheeler, national treasurer for the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee, told the *Militant*, "To achieve this goal in only seven weeks will be a big challenge. It will require our supporters in every city taking steps to begin organizing for the drive right away. And then following through consistently."

She said that the good response Warren and Mickells have been getting since the campaign was launched on March 9 shows that possibilities exist for approaching hundreds of campaign endorsers and activists for contributions.

The two candidates are currently touring the country. "They've met and talked to hundreds of people," Wheeler said. "And they've addressed tens of thousands more through coverage in the media. The perspectives for working people that they've been presenting are being taken seriously. They're getting a hearing from workers and students who have been shaken by the October stock market crash and are looking for some answers to the worldwide depression that appears to be in the offing."

Virtually every place the candidates have gone, she said, young people have asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Wheeler suggested that campaign rallies, barbecues, or picnics held during the fund-drive period will offer "an especially good opportunity to draw together supporters and prospective supporters, inspire them politically, and help collect contributions."

Warren and Mickells will be available to speak at rallies in the cities they are touring. Other cities will be able to feature local candidates or national campaign spokespersons.

The funds raised during this drive, Wheeler said, will be a big component of the sum needed to conduct the national campaign.

It will help cover the costs of publishing tens of thousands of pieces of literature, travel and living expenses for the candidates, and national petitioning teams to help obtain ballot status in Alabama, New York, Ohio, and South Dakota. The SWP is attempting to get on the ballot in 18 states and Washington, D.C. The presidential ticket has already been certified for the ballot in New Jersey.

"Funds are also needed for several international trips by the candidates," Wheeler said. Two are coming up soon. Warren is going to Grenada at the end of this month, where he will attend the convention of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement and have an opportunity to talk with political activists from the Caribbean.

At the same time Mickells will be flying to London to participate in a rally and socialist educational conference and meet with activists in the labor movement there.

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Get next week's *Militant* to read a firsthand report on this dramatic new development in the direction of Cuba's socialist revolution.

1980: workers' upsurge swept Poland

Millions of workers, farmers joined new union movement

BY SAM MANUEL

The current wave of workers' struggles in Poland are the largest since those that erupted in 1980-82. As in previous struggles, rising food prices were the immediate issue that touched off the protests.

Massive strikes swept the country after the government announced sharp increases in meat prices in July 1980. And 10 years before it had been a similar increase in prices that led to a workers' revolt in Gdansk and Szczecin. The 1970 revolt caused the downfall of Wladyslaw Gomułka as head of the ruling Communist Party (officially known as the Polish United Workers Party) and his replacement by Edward Gierek.

Despite some government concessions, the 1980 strikes continued to spread, reaching a new level with the Gdansk general strike in mid-August. By August 18 an estimated 100,000 workers in the Baltic coast cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot were on strike. Strike committees sprang up linking workers in various enterprises and cities.

In addition to their economic demands, the workers also demanded freedom of expression; release of political prisoners; recognition of the right to strike and form trade unions independent of the governing party; abolition of privileges for police and party officials; and that the government take steps to inform "the public fully about the socio-economic situation in the country."

New union movement

On August 31 the government signed an agreement with the Gdansk workers paving the way for growth of the new union movement, Solidarity. Just one day after the signing of the agreement, 300,000 miners in Silesia struck following a mine accident that killed eight workers. Their strike forced the removal of Gierek as party chief and his replacement with Stanislaw Kania.

By its first national conference on September 17 the Solidarity union federation claimed a membership of 3 million. This grew to 10 million over the next few months.

All Polish society was galvanized by the example of the workers. Painters, sculptors, scientists, and students began to or-

ganize. They demanded an end to censorship and political firings.

Farmers were also inspired to organize and raise their own demands. After a campaign of sit-ins, rallies, and the threat of a general strike by Solidarity, the regime recognized the 1.3 million-member Rural Solidarity on April 17, 1981.

Workers also launched a campaign for a five-day, 40-hour workweek and the removal of the most hated party officials. The government conceded to the 40-hour week after millions of workers struck throughout January 1981. Massive strikes in Bielsko-Biala, a textile manufacturing center in southern Poland, and in Jelenia Gora forced the dismissal of some officials.

In February Prime Minister Jozef Piekarski was replaced by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski — the fourth change of prime ministers in less than a year.

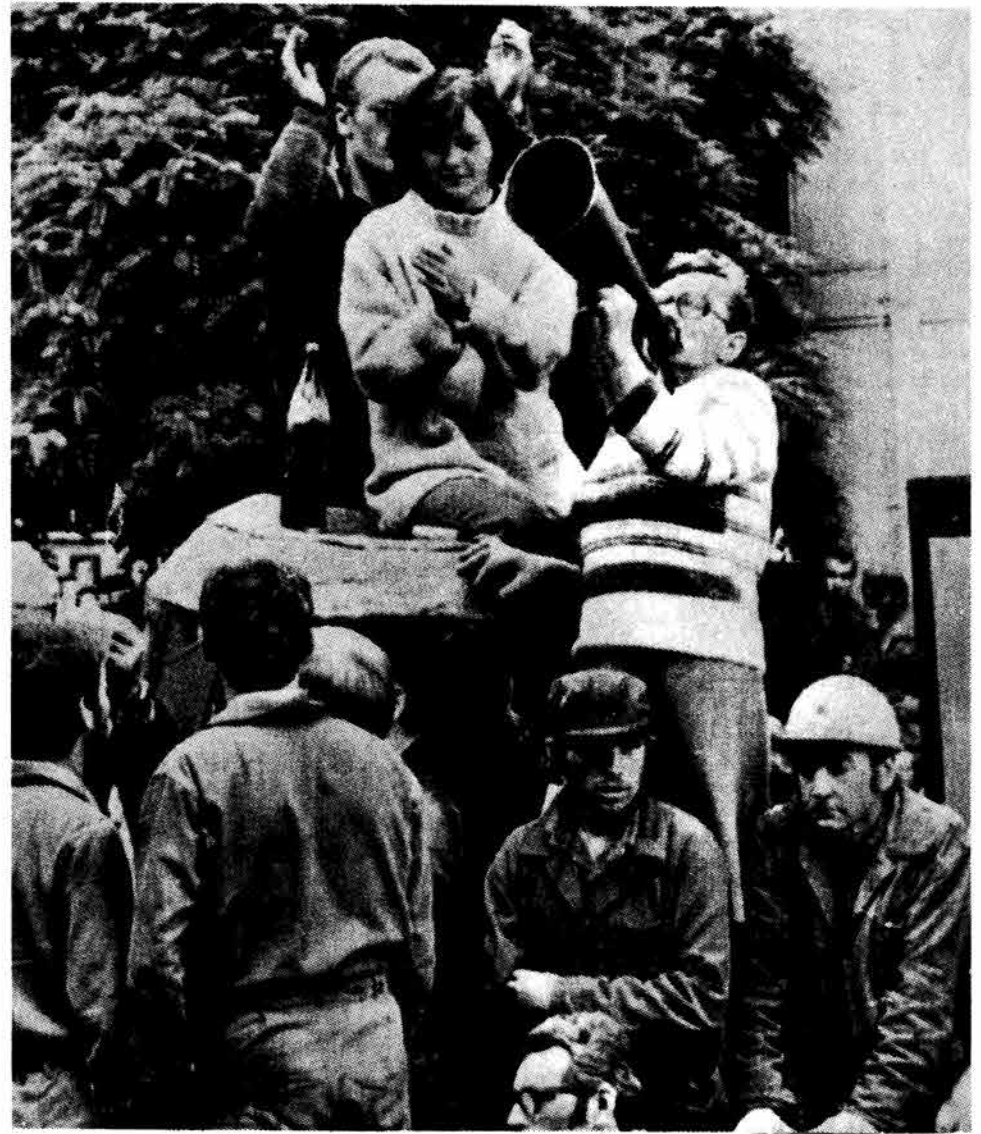
On June 5, 1981, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent a letter to the Polish United Workers Party demanding a crack-down on the strikes. A new wave of strikes and protests erupted in July and August following the government's decisions to cut meat rations by 20 percent.

Tough measures against workers

Newly installed party chief Kania was stripped of his position at a central committee meeting in October and replaced by Jaruzelski, who now officially headed both party and government. A set of tough measures were also adopted by the central committee including "temporary" suspension of the right to strike, restoration of the six-day workweek, stricter control over the media, and the expulsion of party members sympathetic to Solidarity.

In November a meeting of the National Commission of Solidarity issued a resolution that called for the establishment of a social council to administer the economy free from control of the United Workers Party; implementation of workers' participation in local government and — through workers' councils — in the factories; and an immediate halt to all legal proceedings against members of Solidarity.

The government responded by declaring martial law and "suspending" Solidarity on



January 1982 demonstration in Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk

December 13. By January 1982, 47 internment camps had been established across the country to which thousands of trade unionists, students, writers, and political activists were sent.

Government authorities reported nearly 6,000 persons were detained without charges. Another 30,000 were dragged before special martial-law courts.

The workers responded with strikes and rallies that lasted throughout most of the following year. On May 1 and 3, large street demonstrations swept the country. And on May 13 a national strike call was observed. Thousands turned out in rallies throughout Poland on August 31 to commemorate the second anniversary of the end of the 1980 Lenin Shipyard strike in Gdansk.

Faced with the growing momentum of the workers' struggles, the government outlawed Solidarity on October 8, 1982. The law provided for the restoration of alternative, government-sanctioned unions in January 1983. The new unions were to be limited for at least two years to the confines of local factories. Leadership of the unions was to be subject to change by the government. Strikes were to be permitted only with the approval of the government.

Workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk struck on October 11 and 12, 1982, against this new attack. The following day the government militarized the shipyard. The workers were informed that they had been drafted into military service and were subject to court martial for their strike. Several strikes in other cities were suppressed with armed force.

Support grows for unionist fired from London Ford plant

BY PETE EVANS

LONDON — Support is growing in the fight to force the Ford Motor Co. to allow Paul Davidson to return to his job at the company's giant Dagenham plant.

Davidson, a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, was dismissed on April 8 after only four days at the plant.

Davidson has a long history of political activity in the unions and in the Anti-Apartheid Movement. His firing resulted from Ford's intense screening of its work force.

Supporters of Davidson are circulating a statement throughout the labor movement calling for his reinstatement and for an end to Ford's political screening.

Labour Party members of Parliament Tony Benn, Maria Fyfe, Pat Wall, and Stan Newens have declared their support. Others included as the initial signatories of the statement are Jim Mortimer, former Labour Party general secretary, and four members of the executive committee of the National Union of Teachers.

When the protest declaration was handed around at the citywide meeting of the National Communications Union, eager signers described a similar political firing of one of their members a year ago.

Coal miner Terry French, who spent 18 months in prison as a result of his activity during the 1984-85 miners' strike, drew the parallel with his case as he signed.

More than 100 members of the National Union of Seamen from all over Britain and from Belfast in Northern Ireland signed the petitions at a protest sponsored by their union in the seacoast town of Dover on April 30.

"We are all on lists now," was a common response of the striking seafarers, who have all been fired by their employer, P&O European Ferries. Many stated that the employers' practice of keeping secret lists of trade unionists is an intolerable invasion of privacy.

Davidson was in an induction course at Ford at the time he was fired and never worked on the line. The company has tried to prevent the truth about the case from getting out in the plant. But Davidson was able to address the issue at a meeting on May 3 sponsored by three locals of the Transport and General Workers Union at the factory. This union organizes the majority of workers in the giant Dagenham complex.

Ninety-six people signed the statement, including several shop stewards. One signer is vice-chair of the "panel" — the complex-wide trade union committee. Another panel member, Bill Young, signed as well. Young is district secretary of Davidson's union, the Amalgamated Engineers.

Two Ford workers were also among 50 who signed up at a literature table set up in the working-class community of Hackney in East London.

Davidson has received a number of invitations to speak at labor movement meetings. A collection of £22 (US\$40) was raised after Davidson spoke to the Lambeth branch of the teachers' union. Rail workers at the Willesden Junction depot donated another £20 to the case.

Donations, invitations to speak, and messages of support can be sent to the Committee for Paul Davidson's Reinstatement, 8 Alma St., London NW5, England.

Polish workers end strike

Continued from front page

workers were all chanting "No freedom without Solidarity." The government representative soon left the yard, saying only that he had no further role to play.

Leaders of Solidarity issued a statement in Warsaw appealing to workers throughout the country to organize "strikes of limited duration" in support of the shipyard workers.

The government responded to the strike appeal by stepping up pressure on the workers in the shipyard and strengthening measures to prevent strikes in other enterprises. A Polish television report that evening noted that "the attempts at a humanitarian solution of the situation have failed."

From the beginning of the shipyard strike, riot police surrounded the yard and sealed off the main gate. Solidarity supporters who had been allowed to slip through the police cordon to deliver food and messages to the strikers were now stopped. Some were reportedly beaten by police.

A few days earlier riot police stormed the Lenin steelworks in Nowa Huta and suppressed that strike. The May 6 *Washington Post* reported that police set off concussion grenades as they charged into the mill followed by troops landing from helicopters.

The shipyard and steel walkouts were the largest of several strikes that erupted following the government's imposition of

price increases in February and April. Most of them ended with the workers winning increased pay. On April 25, several hundred transport workers struck in Bydgoszcz and Inowroclaw. In Stalowa Wola, 5,000 steelworkers called off their threatened strike after management met their demands for higher pay.

In Current New International:

Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

By Larry Seigle

How government has concentrated ever more police powers into its hands to attack trade unionists, Black rights fighters, and other foes of government policies. Article describes how socialists' suit against FBI spying and disruption helped reveal and combat this undermining of Bill of Rights.

To order, send \$6.50 to New International, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



West Bank youth hold Palestinian flag during 1982 protest

Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation

Struggle steps up in Palestine, 1982-87

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Seventh of a series)

Palestinians living under Israeli domination, both those inside the pre-1967 borders and those in territories seized in the 1967 Israeli war against the Arab states, have moved more to center stage in the Palestinian liberation struggle since the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Previously the struggle of Palestinians in the refugee camps in neighboring countries had played a more prominent role.

But the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon forced thousands of Palestinian fighters to leave that country. This was followed by a split in the PLO and a military drive against it carried out by the Syrian government. Thousands more fighters were killed or forced out of Lebanon by this attack.

These were the biggest setbacks to the Palestinian people since the 1967 war. In 1967 the Israeli capitalist rulers captured the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, those parts of historic Palestine that had remained out of their grip after Israel was established in 1948.

The 1982 setbacks made it impossible for the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon to continue providing the main base for the liberation struggle. Instead they were forced to fight a succession of bloody battles for their right to continue to support, participate in, and defend the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Since 1967 there have been many protests against Israeli military rule on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In fact, the Israeli assault on Lebanon came in the wake of unrest among West Bank Palestinians. In March 1982 a three-day strike there was accompanied by stormy demonstrations. Israeli troops shot and killed six protesters.

After the invasion of Lebanon, there were frequent demonstrations on the West Bank in solidarity with the heroic Palestinian-led resistance to the siege of the Lebanese capital city of Beirut. After Israeli-backed Lebanese rightists slaughtered up to 3,000 Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut, the protests spread to Arabs within the pre-1967 borders of Israel as well.

On Sept. 22, 1982, a general strike was held by Palestinian Arabs throughout Israel to protest the massacre. In Nazareth 42 protesters were wounded in clashes with the police.

The wave of protests helped cripple the Israeli government's efforts to develop "village leagues" on the West Bank to counter PLO influence.

In 1983 many Palestinians on the West Bank expressed support for the PLO against the Syrian government's bloody attempt to eliminate the Palestinian movement as an independent force.

The central leaders of the PLO responded to the defeats in Lebanon with diplomatic moves aimed at heading off isolation, main-

taining the PLO's status among Arab governments as the recognized representative of the Palestinian people, and stepping up activity on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In December 1983, shortly after the Syrian-backed offensive forced Palestinian fighters to evacuate the Lebanese city of Tripoli, PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat went to Egypt where he met with President Hosni Mubarak.

The Egyptian government, which had been boycotted by the PLO and Arab states since signing a treaty with Israel in 1979, eventually allowed the PLO to once again open offices in Egypt.

Dealings with King Hussein

The other major diplomatic move was toward King Hussein of Jordan, who had driven Palestinian fighters out of that country in 1970.

In February 1984 Arafat met with Hussein. They agreed to reactivate a joint committee to support the struggle of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

A delegation of 42 West Bank leaders went to Amman, the capital of Jordan, where they met with Arafat and Hussein. Israeli officials denounced the action by West Bank residents as a violation of the law.

In addition to providing the PLO with allies among Arab governments who might counter attacks from Syrian President Hafez el-Assad, the dealings with Hussein and Mubarak gave the PLO a base of operations in the Arab countries that border on the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

The PLO was eventually permitted to set up 25 offices in Jordan. Khalil al-Wazir, a central PLO political and military leader recently assassinated by Israeli government agents, began operating from Jordan.

Hussein has always viewed the PLO as an obstacle to full accommodation with the Israeli rulers and their backers in Washington. He hoped eventually to win an agreement that would include Jordanian reoccupation of part or all of the West Bank territory, which his predecessor Abdullah had seized during the 1948 war with Israel.

Hussein sought to use the relationship with the PLO to gain support among Palestinians in Jordan, where they make up a majority of the population, and on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The people of the West Bank are regarded as citizens of Jordan by the monarchy, and the Israeli regime has had to allow some travel and other contacts between the West Bank and Jordan. Many Palestinian families have members on both sides of the Jordan River.

Joint proposal

In February 1985 Hussein and Arafat reached another accord. It called for a Palestinian state as the expression of the Palestinians' "inalienable right of self-determination." The Palestinian state was to form part of a "confederated Arab states of Jordan and Palestine."

The agreement called for "total with-

drawal [by Israel] from territories occupied in 1967," and offered in exchange the possibility of a "comprehensive peace as established in the United Nations and Security Council resolutions."

This implied that the PLO, in exchange for an independent state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, might grant diplomatic recognition to the Israeli state and attempt to reach a live-and-let-live arrangement with it.

Disagreement over the pact with King Hussein deepened divisions among the PLO's component groups.

Several of them, including the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), had already formed an opposition bloc in 1983. Headquartered in Damascus, Syria, it opposed Arafat's leadership.

The pact with Hussein was an example of a shift in the PLO's stance in the wake of the 1982 defeats. The long-run goal of a democratic, secular state including the Jews, Christians, and Arabs of all of Palestine remained a part of the PLO program.

But the axis of diplomatic and other activity shifted to the struggle to pressure the Israeli rulers to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza Strip and allow a Palestinian state to be formed in these areas.

Clash with Hussein

Washington put pressure on Hussein to squeeze more concessions out of the PLO leaders as the price for the bloc. U.S. threats to withhold military aid to Jordan were used as a lever. Hussein stepped up his insistence that the PLO drop the fight for Palestinian self-determination, unconditionally accept the legitimacy of Israeli rule, and concede Jordanian sovereignty over any territory on the West Bank and Gaza Strip that Israel was forced to give up.

When the PLO leadership refused, Hussein issued an ultimatum that the PLO cease armed resistance to Israeli rule and bar Palestinians who have been involved in armed actions from any future peace talks.

When Arafat refused, Hussein announced on Feb. 19, 1986, "We do not want to deal with the PLO leadership anymore, it's over." The PLO offices were shut down, Wazir was expelled from the country, and Hussein launched an aggressive drive to discredit the PLO among West Bank Palestinians and compel their allegiance to him. Egyptian President Mubarak shut down the PLO offices in Egypt the following year.

Hussein's attack made little headway, despite threats to hold back economic aid from those who opposed him and the lifting of the Jordanian passports of West Bank residents who backed the PLO. One poll, reported in September 1986, showed that 93 percent of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip regarded the PLO as representing them and 70 percent regarded Arafat as their preferred leader. About 3

percent picked Hussein. Only 6 percent favored Jordanian sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, even as a temporary measure.

Hussein's offensive against the PLO spurred moves to overcome some of the divisions that had wracked it since the 1982 war in Lebanon. In April 1987 a PLO conference in Algeria took steps to reunite the DFLP and PFLP with Fatah and other groups. The pact with Hussein, which the monarch had already junked, was formally abrogated.

Arab League summit

Following the failure of Hussein's attack, the capitalist and landlord governments of the Arab countries continued to probe for ways to weaken the PLO and dampen the Palestinian struggle. The escalating war between Iran and Iraq, and Washington's intervention on Iraq's side with a war armada in the Persian Gulf region, provided a pretext when the Arab League summit met in Amman, Jordan, in November 1987.

The agenda was dominated not by the issue of Palestine, as in the past, but by calls to line up with the Iraqi rulers against Iran. "For the first time since the Arab League was founded in 1945," crowed Daniel Pipes, director of the right-wing Foreign Policy Research Institute, "the Arab leaders agreed that the conflict with Israel mattered less than something else: the Iran-Iraq war..."

"The old stumbling block of United States backing for Israel hardly seems to matter now as, in effect, a U.S.-Arab alliance against Iran has taken shape."

The English-language edition, apparently prepared by Jordanian officials, of the declaration issued by the meeting dropped the reference to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The reference was included in the Arabic-language version.

This diplomatic attempt to bury the Palestinian struggle was shot down weeks later in the West Bank and Gaza.

The intensity of the Palestinian struggle in the West Bank had increased sharply since 1982. Between 1977 and 1982, an average of 500 clashes between Palestinian protesters and Israeli forces had taken place annually. Since 1982 the annual total had risen to an average of 3,000.

On Dec. 8, 1987, an Israeli army truck in Gaza struck two vehicles carrying Palestinian workers, killing four. Protest demonstrations and strikes quickly spread from Gaza to the West Bank, and then to the rest of Israel.

The most massive Palestinian revolt since the establishment of Israel had begun.

The next article, the last in our series, will discuss the perspectives for a democratic revolution in which Palestinian and Israeli workers and farmers will overturn the Israeli government and forge a democratic, secular state in all of Palestine.

Socialist Workers seek ballot slot in Ohio

CLEVELAND — "The effort to get James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, on the ballot in Ohio will be one of our biggest ballot drives this year," explained Andrea Morell. Morell is the national ballot coordinator for the 1988 SWP campaign.

"The drive will begin May 14," she said, "and run through June 4. During this three-week effort, campaign supporters will be gathering as close to 10,000 signatures as possible. That's double the actual requirement of 5,000 signatures."

Morell described how the drive will be organized. Campaign supporters, she said, will be fanning out across the state to talk with working people about the socialist program, gather signatures, and win support for the SWP's right to be on the ballot. They plan to petition in Cleveland, Akron, Canton, Toledo, Cincinnati, Columbus, Lorain, Youngstown, Dayton, and in the coal-mining communities of southeastern Ohio.

"We'll have a team of about eight volunteers who petition in working-class communities, at plant gates, and at political

events full-time during the drive," Morell said. "Other supporters will petition after work and on weekends. Petitioners will be reaching thousands of industrial workers, farmers, unemployed people, students, farm workers, housewives, and others."

Young Socialist Alliance leader Greg McCartan, in a telephone interview, added, "YSA members will be helping out on all the petitioning and sales teams, starting with Ohio. We're also confident that we can win new members to the YSA during this ballot drive."

Petitioners will also be selling introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

"Another important part of this ballot drive," Morell added, "will be publicizing the case of Mark Curtis, an activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who's fighting a cop frame-up because of his political activities. Socialist campaigners will be gathering signatures on Curtis' defense petitions."

After the first day of petitioning on Saturday, May 14, public meeting featuring Norton Sandler, circulation manager of



Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski
Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, Kathleen Mickells (center) talks with participants in protest for rights of the homeless. Supporters of socialist's presidential slate begin Ohio petition drive May 14.

the *Militant*, will be held in Cleveland. Sandler will be speaking on "Six Months After the Stock Market Crash: What Lies Ahead for Working People?" The event will be held at 2521 Market Avenue at 7:00 p.m.

Educational classes and social events

will be organized throughout the petitioning effort. If you would like to help in the ballot drive, or want more information on the schedule of events, contact the Ohio Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee, 2521 Market Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44113. Telephone (216) 861-6150.

Machinist convention-goers return home with 'Militant'

BY DAN FEIN

ATLANTA — Many delegates to the 32nd convention of the International Association of Machinists returned home with a copy of the *Militant* in their hands.

The April 26-May 5 convention here was attended by some 2,000 members of the machinists' union. The union organizes more than 800,000 workers in the aerospace, airlines, and a variety of other industries. Ten percent of the membership is from Canada.

Several members of the union helped distribute the *Militant* and sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets from a literature table inside the convention center.

Delegates purchased 50 subscriptions and 144 single copies of the *Militant*, as well as four copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*. Almost \$200 worth of Pathfinder literature was sold.

400 counter KKK rally in West Virginia

BY JIM ALTENBERG

FAYETTEVILLE, W.Va. — Under heavy police guard, 20 hooded and robed Ku Klux Klan racists staged a march around the town hall here April 17, while 400 people lined the march route in an anti-Klan counterdemonstration. Local residents, who made up the majority of the anti-Klan demonstrators, were joined by union and antiracist activists from Charleston, Beckley, and other West Virginia cities and towns.

Over the past year, efforts by the Klan to march and recruit in West Virginia have been met by protests in every town they have come to. Many of these protests were unorganized. Working people simply came out into the streets to show their opposition to the racists. As one young woman here put it, "I came because I thought no one else would." The same 15 to 40 Klanners have appeared at every march.

Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 3rd C.D., joined the protest. He and campaign supporters distributed copies of the Socialist Workers proposals on how to fight for jobs.

Socialists had political discussions about how best to fight the Klan. They stressed the idea that the racists can not be ignored, and that protests should take place every time the Klan tries to appear.

An additional eight subscriptions and 29 single copies were sold at an April 30 "Jobs With Justice Rally" held in conjunction with the convention.

Some delegates indicated that they had seen the *Militant* being sold outside the factories where they work.

A convention guest who is a member of the engineering union in New Zealand purchased a subscription for the union office. He took note of the international coverage in the paper. And he was impressed with the fact that our circulation drive is also international, with distributors in Britain, Canada, Iceland, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

Many of the new subscribers are from Canada. A Montreal rail worker had learned about the *Militant* from reading *Socialist Voice*, a revolutionary bi-weekly published in that city. Supporters of *Socialist Voice* also distribute the *Militant*.

Some who stopped by the table disagreed with our opposition to "Buy American" or "Buy Canadian" campaigns as a way to save jobs.

In discussions, we would stress the role the *Militant* plays in pointing to the need for an international fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to win jobs. We also highlighted the paper's opposition to imperialist wars.

A delegate from Panama bought a subscription and took home a Pathfinder catalogue. Impressed with the list of Spanish-language titles, he visited the Atlanta Pathfinder Bookstore the next day and purchased \$50 worth of books.

A man from Liberia who now lives in New York bought the current issue of *New International* featuring an article by Steve Clark on "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop." He also bought the previous issue of the magazine, which contains three articles on South Africa.

On April 29, the day before the Jobs With Justice Rally, two flight attendants set up a table next to ours. They were selling T-shirts protesting Eastern Airlines Chairman Frank Lorenzo's attempt to bust their union.

We asked one woman if she had ever seen the *Militant* before. "Oh yes, I've seen it before," she said. "Every time we have a rally in Miami, that newspaper is there." She decided to pick up a subscription.

Dan Fein is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 289 in Seattle.

Sales Drive Progress

Area	Drive Totals			Militant subscriptions		New International single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Boston	350	153	44	240	124	50	11	60	18
Los Angeles	600	248	41	340	150	100	53	160	45
New York	1,200	441	37	600	258	300	111	300	72
Seattle	275	98	36	200	60	25	11	50	27
Twin Cities, Minn.	285	100	35	230	83	35	9	20	8
Birmingham, Ala.	175	57	33	140	38	25	17	10	2
Miami	225	71	32	145	55	40	5	40	11
Newark, NJ	460	141	31	275	89	85	23	100	29
Detroit	250	75	30	185	66	40	4	25	5
Portland, Ore.	140	41	29	100	23	25	14	15	4
Austin, Minn.	90	26	29	65	24	15	1	10	1
Kansas City	130	36	28	90	29	20	2	20	5
Houston	215	59	27	140	48	30	2	45	9
Atlanta	205	55	27	150	47	40	4	15	4
Pittsburgh	250	65	26	185	56	45	5	20	4
Milwaukee	150	38	25	100	22	25	10	25	6
Greensboro, NC	170	42	25	140	40	20	1	10	1
San Francisco	350	86	25	200	58	75	7	75	21
Washington, DC	250	60	24	170	41	50	6	30	13
Chicago	350	77	22	215	55	60	15	75	7
Omaha, Neb.	125	26	21	80	22	25	3	20	1
Morgantown, W.V.	135	28	21	115	23	15	4	5	1
Cleveland	145	30	21	110	26	20	3	15	1
Des Moines, Iowa	195	37	19	140	29	30	5	25	3
Philadelphia	210	39	19	140	33	30	0	40	6
Oakland, Calif.	265	49	18	150	31	50	12	65	6
Charleston, W.V.	120	21	18	100	14	15	7	5	0
Baltimore	185	31	17	150	28	30	0	5	3
St. Louis	250	40	16	190	37	50	2	10	1
Phoenix	240	36	15	135	24	30	1	75	11
Salt Lake City	150	18	12	115	14	20	3	15	1
Price, Utah	55	5	9	40	4	10	0	5	1
* Cincinnati	10	7	70	10	7	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	23	-	-	22	-	-	-	1
U.S. totals	8,205	2,359	29	5,385	1,680	1,430	351	1,390	328
London	62	28	45	45	26	8	0	9	2
South Wales	40	16	40	27	15	10	0	3	1
Nottingham	39	8	21	24	6	12	2	3	0
South Yorks	45	8	18	30	8	5	0	10	0
Manchester	34	5	15	24	4	5	0	5	1
Other Britain	-	17	-	-	3	-	14	-	-
Britain totals	220	82	37	150	62	40	16	30	4
Canada	340	91	27	200	69	100	10	40	12
Iceland	15	4	27	15	4	-	-	-	-
New Zealand	180	165	92	140	140	30	18	10	7
* Puerto Rico	-	12	-	-	2	-	1	-	9
Other Internat'l	-	41	-	-	17	-	22	-	2
Totals	8,945	2,754	31	5,890	1,974	1,600	418	1,470	362
Drive Goals	9,000			6,000		1,500		1,500	
Should be		4,365	49						

'Barricada' reports on Pathfinder mural

The following is excerpted from an article in the April 7, 1988, *Barricada Internacional*, the international English-language biweekly of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua. It was headlined: "Cooperative mural celebrates world struggles: Sandino arrives in New York."

BY SARAH FERGUSON

Public art dedicated to the struggles and ideals of the working class is rare in a city which generally caters to corporate interests. Even so-called political art tends more toward the stylized war against crack waged by Keith Haring than public statements on behalf of a group or movement.

The Pathfinder Mural Project on the corner of West and Charles streets in New York's west Greenwich Village is a notable exception. Here, artist Mike Alewitz and a team of local and international artists are creating a mural to celebrate the role of the working-class press as a promoter of class consciousness world-wide.

When completed, the six-story mural will show a set of gargantuan presses spewing out pages with portraits of 15 of the world's leftist leaders. As they emerge, the pages form a sort of timeline in leftist history, from recent figures like Fidel Castro, Nelson Mandela, and Che Guevara, to the old archetypes — Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, and Frederick Engels. Militant crowds march below them, holding banners which read "For a world without borders" in different languages.

The portraits correspond to the authors published by Pathfinder Press, one of the leading publishers of leftist literature, which occupies the building along with the *Militant*, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party.

It certainly will be hard to miss. The 67-foot high mural will be visible to the approximately 87,000 commuters who drive north on West Street every weekday and can even be seen from the World Trade Center.

Alewitz hopes that the mural will encourage viewers to read the works of the figures depicted there and encourage other artists to become more involved in the struggles of the working class.

As part of the project, leading artists from countries like Nicaragua, El Salvador, Puerto Rico, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, and South Korea have been invited to add their talents and political perspectives to the mural. Many will also be

touring the United States to speak out about the working-class struggles in their countries.

The first such artist to arrive was Arnoldo Guillén, a leading Nicaraguan painter and founding member of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers. Guillén painted the portraits of Nicaraguan heroes Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca, and was later joined by renowned Irish artist Catherine Owens.

Guillén then toured across the U.S., speaking out on the struggle for self-determination in Nicaragua and the relationship between art and revolutionary ideals. Another Nicaraguan artist, Carlos Montenegro, is scheduled to arrive on February 22, followed by artists from South Africa and El Salvador (whose names Alewitz withheld in order to avoid visa problems).

Alewitz is also inviting local artists to participate in the project, and anyone else who wants to help fund raise. So far, he and right-hand man, Cappy Kidd, have raised US\$70,000 for the project, but \$130,000 is still needed to cover travel expenses for international artists and other additional costs.

The city, however, has been less than supportive. On December 3, project organizers were slapped with \$3,500 worth of summonses from the sanitation department for posting flyers on lampposts in the Village. The flyers invited people to find out about the mural project at an open house.

Pointing out that other groups with flyers on the same lampposts had not been ticketed, Alewitz charges that the citations were "outrageous," and "a clear case of selective harassment because of the mural's political character."

Peter Seeger, Thiago de Mello, Dennis Brutus, Julie Christie, Don Rojas, and David Linder are among the many well-known people who publicly defend the Pathfinder mural.

Alewitz, the mural's designer, points out that it will be the first large-scale mural in New York to include V.I. Lenin since Diego Rivera painted his "Man at the Crossroads" mural at Rockefeller Center in 1933.

Whereas Diego's mural did not survive the wrath of its sponsor, John D. Rockefeller, who had the work stripped off the center as soon as he discovered Lenin's face on it, Alewitz hopes that the Pathfinder mural will remain an artistic and political landmark in the area.



Tony Savino

Nicaraguan artist Carlos Montenegro with portraits he painted on mural of revolutionary generals who led fight against U.S. invasion of Nicaragua in 1920s and '30s.

To become a sponsor of the Pathfinder mural project, for more information, and to contribute financially, clip and mail the coupon below to the project at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Sales at Malcolm X play

BY PETER THIERJUNG
AND HATTIE MCCUTCHEON

OAKLAND, Calif. — To celebrate Black history month this year, the Oakland Ensemble Theater (OET) featured performances of a play called *Meeting*. It is a fictionalized encounter between Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. The two Black leaders met briefly only once and never had a chance to discuss their views with each other.

The play is set in the period just before Malcolm X's assassination in 1965. The place is a Harlem hotel room. For about 90 minutes the actors who play King and Malcolm enact a dialogue between the two men. During this encounter the goals of liberating Black people from Jim Crow legal segregation and racism are discussed and the means of achieving these ends are sometimes heatedly debated.

King's character gives an eloquent defense of the gains of the civil rights movement, while Malcolm X's takes up the source of racist violence and why Black people have the right to defend themselves by any means necessary. In the end the two acknowledge their differences but recognize that the struggle is what unites them, and they embrace.

The production of the *Meeting* has sparked a rediscovery of, and discussion about, the gains of the Black struggle. The play was originally to run from mid-January through the end of February. Given the response and the sold-out performances, the dates were extended twice. By the last showing on April 3 more than 10,000 people, primarily Blacks, from all over the Oakland-San Francisco and Northern California area had attended the play.

Reviewers often noted the favorable treatment of Malcolm X by Los Angeles playwright Jeff Stetson. Stetson has already received several awards for the *Meeting*.

The play generated lots of interest in literature by and about Malcolm X and King, as well as on the civil rights movement. During the several weeks of performances, the Oakland Pathfinder Bookstore set up a literature display in the theater lobby. More

than \$3,700 of books and literature were sold. This included 375 books by or about Malcolm X.

Books and pamphlets on the struggle against apartheid in South Africa were very popular. Thirteen copies of *The Struggle Is My Life* by Nelson Mandela were purchased.

To cap off the success, the OET and Oakland Pathfinder Bookstore cosponsored a community discussion on the *Meeting* at the theater on April 4, the 20th anniversary of King's assassination. Speakers included John George, an Alameda county supervisor; Brenda Payton, a columnist for the *Oakland Tribune*; Oba T'Shaka, chairperson of Black Studies at San Francisco State University; Imam Faheem Shuaibe of the Masjidul Wari-theem Mosque in Oakland; and Cathy Sedwick, representing Pathfinder Bookstore and the Socialist Workers Party.

A lively discussion followed brief presentations by the speakers. More than 80 people attended.

The *Meeting* has already been performed in Los Angeles and New York and performances in other U.S. cities are being discussed. A production this year is already scheduled for Amsterdam in the Netherlands.

By Malcolm X

By Any Means Necessary	\$7.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History	\$4.95
Malcolm X Talks to Young People	\$0.75
Two Speeches by Malcolm X	\$1.00
Malcolm X Speaks (cloth)	\$20.00
Autobiography of Malcolm X	\$3.95

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75 cents for postage and handling.

New divorce law in Nicaragua treats women as full citizens

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The National Assembly here overwhelmingly approved a new divorce law April 27, marking an important step toward equal rights for women in Nicaragua. The law allows marriages to be dissolved at the request of either of the spouses.

The old law, dating from 1904, made it much more difficult for a woman to get a divorce than a man. A man could divorce his wife on the grounds that he didn't know when they got married that she was pregnant "due to illicit premarital relations." Or he could divorce her for sleeping even once with another man. In contrast, a woman had to prove her husband was living publicly with another woman in order to win a divorce.

For many women the old law made divorce virtually impossible unless the husband agreed to it. This was true even for women who had been abandoned by their husbands. Abandonment was grounds for divorce only if it had lasted at least five years and if there had been no communication between the spouses.

Elimination of this discriminatory law was one of the main demands raised by women in town meetings held across the country in 1986, during discussions on drafting a new constitution.

When the constitution was approved by the National Assembly in late 1986, the old divorce law became in effect unconstitutional, and its provisions were suspended pending enactment of new legislation.

The new constitution establishes "abso-

lute equality between man and woman" under the law. It states that marriage "is based on a voluntary agreement . . . and can be dissolved by mutual consent or by the will of one of the parties."

The new law codifies these principles. Now, the spouse wanting to end the marriage has only to present a written request to a judge. No reason need be given for the divorce. The judge is limited to ruling on questions of child custody, child support, alimony, and division of property, if the couple disagrees on these issues.

The law on divorce is only the second major piece of social legislation adopted by the National Assembly since the constitution was approved. The first was the law granting autonomy to the peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. The divorce law reflects the increased participation of women in the country's political and economic life since the 1979 Sandinista revolution. It represents an advance for the democratic rights of all.

With the new divorce law "society recognizes women as full citizens, as free and conscious adults, placing them on an equal footing with men before the law," wrote Sofia Montenegro in the May 4 Sandinista daily *Barricada*.

The new law also means, Montenegro pointed out, that "all citizens have a larger quota of power and individual freedom, because the key, until now held by the state, has been turned over to every married couple, in case one of its members wants to get out of a marriage that has run its course."

How cease-fire became reality in El Cuá

Interview with Nicaraguan army commander in area hard hit by contra war

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

EL CUÁ, Nicaragua — "Since the Sapoá cease-fire accords were signed, we've held meetings with almost all the top leaders of the contra forces in this area," said Lt. Modesto Ubeda in a May 1 interview here. "Most of them understand that the war has reached its end. They're not willing to keep on fighting."

Ubeda is commander of the army battalion and peasant militias based in this small town in northern Nicaragua, about 50 miles northeast of Jinotega.

The purpose of the talks, he stressed, is to end the fighting and save the Nicaraguan people more suffering. "We're not negotiating away the revolution," he stated. "We're talking with the aim of getting the contra troops to disarm and return home."

El Cuá is one of the areas in Nicaragua hardest hit by the war. The town itself consists of 200 houses strung along a narrow, rock riverbed. It is the economic and political center for thousands of peasant families who live throughout hundreds of square miles of mountainous terrain.

Until the cease-fire was signed March 23, contra bands operated in these mountains, ambushing travelers, killing and kidnapping peasants, and attacking isolated farms. In March alone, the troops and militias under Ubeda's command exchanged fire with the contras on 34 occasions.

Today, this has all changed. The contras have stopped military actions and are keeping their forces regrouped in specific zones in agreement with the army.

The change was evident during the three-hour drive through the mountains to reach El Cuá. Before the cease-fire, the only safe way to travel was in armed convoys. Police and militia members stopped travelers at several checkpoints to advise them as to whether it was safe to proceed.

Now travel is unrestricted along the road. Militia members at the checkpoints casually wave vehicles through. Small groups of armed peasants patrol the road, but there is nothing comparable to the extensive troop presence of previous months.

However, the contras have not yet surrendered their arms and could resume fighting again. Ubeda's troops were keeping their guard up, and peasants from nearby collective farms maintained a 24-hour vigilance and regularly scouted the nearby mountains.

Amnesty for contras

The Nicaraguan government has decreed an amnesty program whereby any contras who give up their arms and turn themselves in are allowed to return home without reprisals or punishment. More than 6,000 have done so since the program began in 1983.

In El Cuá, government, army, and peasant leaders have met repeatedly with relatives of contras, urging them to tell their fathers, husbands, or sons about the amnesty. This campaign was reflected in colorful posters tacked on the front wall of homes, farms, and stores around town.

One poster gave a detailed explanation of the Sapoá agreement, complete with photographs of the contra and government leaders meeting together. Another showed a peasant woman with two small children. The caption read: "They are waiting for you. Cease-fire now." A third bore the message: "The spring planting awaits you and the May rains are coming. Cease-fire now."

Contacts with contra leaders

Ubeda said the army had tried to establish contact with local contra leaders last October, shortly after the five Central American government signed an agreement calling for an end to the fighting. The Nicaraguan government had then decreed a one-month unilateral cease-fire.

"We managed to talk only with a couple of low-ranking contra leaders, and the talks didn't go anywhere," Ubeda reported. The mercenaries used the cease-fire to regroup, rest, and build up their supplies. They also carried out ambushes and kidnappings in the Cuá area and even attacked an army camp while the truce was in effect.

After that experience, "we kept sending messages to the field commanders, even



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

Sandinista troops in Jinotega Province. Army is working with contras to implement cease-fire.

though we didn't have hopes of achieving much," Ubeda said. "It was part of the permanent political work of the revolution."

Contacts with contra commanders increased shortly before Nicaraguan government and top contra representatives began cease-fire talks March 21. At that time the mercenary troops had just been devastated by a major Sandinista offensive carried out along the Nicaragua-Honduras border.

By April 1 the contras near El Cuá had regrouped their forces in well-defined zones away from highways and towns, and stopped all military operations. The contra commanders then contacted the army and asked to meet again.

"We have now met with all the top leaders of the contras' regional operational tactical command No. 2," Ubeda said. "Most of them are receptive to the government [disarmament] proposals. They say they are tired of the war. Whether or not the contra high command continues the war, these commanders are not willing to keep on fighting."

"They asked us to explain the cease-fire accords, since they had not received much information about the accords from their high command," Ubeda continued. "We took them documents and photographs of the meeting and explained the negotiations in detail."

"They also organized an assembly of their troops so we could explain the Sapoá cease-fire agreement and the government's proposals on ending the war," Ubeda said.

As a result of the meetings, the contras agreed to remain in their enclaves while the talks continued. The army has brought them food, cigarettes, and medicine, and is allowing relatives to visit them.

Attempts to disrupt talks

Not all contras are in favor of these contacts with the army, Ubeda noted.

"One lower-level commander said he took orders only from Ronald Reagan and would never stop fighting. After that the other commanders excluded him from meetings with us."

There has also been one recent incident where a small group of contras killed a civilian and two cases of contras kidnapping civilians, Ubeda said. Sandinista troops did not respond to these attacks, however.

"These were probably provocations by some hard-core elements who want to stop the talks," Ubeda said. "We plan to raise these incidents in our next meeting with the contra commanders, but we're not going to be the ones to shoot first or break off the talks."

By late April, Ubeda said, several contra leaders had expressed concern at the slow pace of the negotiations between the Nicaraguan government and top contra leaders.

"One sent us a note saying that if there was no signed agreement when the cease-fire runs out, he plans to lay down his arms under the amnesty program. Another wrote saying that if the war breaks out again, he wants to keep in contact with us so we can avoid clashes."

Even if the cease-fire expires with no overall agreement, Ubeda said, he did not plan to attack the local contra groups "as long as they stay in their enclaves, keep in

touch with us, and don't cause any problems. We've established a relationship with them, and want to continue talks until they disarm."

"Something like this has already happened on the Atlantic Coast," he pointed out. "There are Indian groups that have kept their own arms, but who coordinate with the army, and are involved in a dialogue with the government. We could follow this example here, too."

Curtis defense wins support

Continued from Page 2

quín who was in Des Moines to support Curtis. Marroquín is a Mexican-born leader of the Socialist Workers Party who recently won a victory in his 11-year struggle for the right to live and work in the United States.

Marroquín explained that Curtis, his longtime friend and political collaborator, has been targeted for prosecution because of his political activity.

The *Register* article concluded by giving information on the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's meeting scheduled for that evening.

When that meeting was about to begin, three plainclothes cops attempted to enter the meeting.

Defense committee coordinator Stu Singer told the cops that the meeting was open to the public but not to police.

The *Register* reported that Capt. Kayne Robinson was called to the scene and conferred with the officers. Afterward, they left the bookstore, without having attended the meeting.

Curtis, who is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 431, told the meeting that the cops want to intimidate political activists and make young people think twice about using their democratic rights to fight for social change.

Curtis was arrested last March 4 a few hours after attending a meeting protesting the arrest of 17 Mexican and Salvadoran immigrant workers at the Swift packing-house where he works.

The charges against Curtis are first-degree burglary, which on conviction carries a mandatory 25-year sentence; sexual abuse in the third degree, which carries a 10-year mandatory sentence; and two counts of assaulting the police, which are misdemeanor charges.

The latter charge was cover for the cops' brutal beating of Curtis during "interrogation." They fractured his cheekbone.

Jackie Floyd, a member of the United Rubber Workers Union and office manager for the defense committee, outlined upcoming tasks, including sending petitions and letters to Des Moines police chief Will-

iam Moulder, organizing meetings to hear about the case, arranging a national speaking tour for Curtis, and raising the large sums of money necessary for Curtis' defense.

The committee recently received 100 signatures from members of United Auto Workers union Local 325 at Ford in Hazelwood, Missouri.

The morning after the defense committee meeting, three members of UAW Local 997, along with Curtis, Marroquín, and committee activist Hazel Zimmerman, collected more than 120 signatures at the gates of the Maytag plant in Newton, Iowa.

Among those defending Curtis are Dayne Goodwin, chair of the Central America Solidarity Coalition from Salt Lake City, Utah; James Horn, trustee, South Central Indiana Central Labor Council; David Burgess, executive director, Metropolitan Ecumenical Ministry, Newark, New Jersey; and the president and vice-president of UFCW Local 1149 in Perry, Iowa.

On May 2 Curtis discussed his case with a ninth-grade history class at Ames High School. Curtis' appearance had been organized by a senior there. That night Curtis, along with Marroquín, spoke at the University of Iowa in Iowa City. Many participants volunteered to do petitioning for Curtis.

The trial date for the felony charges against Curtis is July 6; for the misdemeanor charges, July 18. Curtis' legal defense is being handled by the prominent criminal defense law firm of William Kutmus and Mark Pennington.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is asking that messages be sent to the Des Moines police demanding that the charges be dropped and the beating of Curtis by the cops be investigated, with those responsible being prosecuted. Petitions and a fact sheet are available from the committee.

Messages should be addressed to Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309. Copies of messages and petitions, along with urgently needed contributions, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1630.

New stage opens in Nicaragua revolution

Continued from front page

class of capitalist farmers and ranchers.

These capitalists have considerable weight in the production of crucial agro-export commodities. They are also a major factor in the production of some domestic staples.

The owners of big farms and ranches exploit wage labor. They keep wages as low as possible and spend as little as they can get away with on improving living and working conditions for farm workers and their families.

These capitalists use their economic power in an attempt to pressure the government to pursue economic and political policies that will benefit them as a class.

To take one important example, they fight to slow down or stop altogether the land reform process. Government distribution of land has transformed the lives of hundreds of thousands of peasants by giving them land to work. But it has yet to benefit hundreds of thousands more, who remain landless.

The big farmers and ranchers also seek to perpetuate their historic role as those who speak for "farmers" — covering over the fact that there are different classes, and class interests, among farmers. They particularly work to maintain influence over the more numerous farmers and ranchers with medium-sized holdings.

There are also some capitalist enterprises in industry and trade, although their weight is less than that of their rural counterparts. This layer, small to begin with, suffered a high rate of expropriation after July 19, 1979, when the dictatorship headed by the Somoza family was overthrown.

The owners of the capitalist sector of the economy have their own interests. These interests clash, objectively, with those of the working people of city and countryside, who are the vast majority.

Political power

Nicaraguan toilers have taken political power. This put a mighty weapon — the state — on their side. But they have in front of them the task of conquering the heights

still held by the capitalists in the economic sphere. This further ground will have to be taken or what has already been won will eventually be lost.

Working people will have to rule economically as well as politically. Socially conscious economic planning, not the destructive anarchy of the drive for private profits, must govern major decisions on investment and production.

This further leap forward will not be made according to a preconceived timetable or any other schema.

It will be brought closer to the degree that the self-confidence, organization, and class-struggle education of the working people is strengthened.

The end of the contra war clears away an obstacle to precisely this process. The driving force of change in Nicaragua becomes more visible, the class interests more clearly defined.

Administrative measures

This brings us to the other aspect of the double problem the Sandinista revolution has had to confront.

The imperialist war compelled the government to resort to widespread use of emergency administrative measures. Emergency regulations were put into effect beginning in 1982, when the war began in earnest, and definitively lifted in January 1988. (The measures were suspended temporarily during the presidential election campaign in 1984, and reimposed in 1985.)

Under the regulations, the government had the power to censor the news media, deny permits for street demonstrations, and suspend the right to strike.

Police were authorized to conduct searches whenever they suspected counter-revolutionary activity. They were also empowered to detain people accused of crimes against national security or public order without pressing charges against them.

'Political-ideological battle'

By the middle of 1987 the FSLN leadership had decided it was possible to move



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Multiethnic Assembly meets on Atlantic Coast in Puerto Cabezas April 1987 to discuss and approve new autonomy plan for region.

rapidly toward lifting the state of emergency. They were convinced that the restoration of full civil liberties in Nicaragua would create the best conditions for waging what they termed the "political-ideological battle."

However necessary as wartime measures, the use of police power and other administrative measures to deal with political opposition carried an overhead price. Such measures couldn't provide answers to the charges and arguments of opposition forces — be they capitalist political parties or currents within the working-class movement.

Instead, they often drove such arguments into rumor mills and behind-the-scenes complaints and criticism, which were harder for supporters of the government to expose and answer. This made it more difficult to educate working people about the steps necessary to advance the revolution.

Moreover, resorting to administrative measures can reinforce a tendency among some people in positions of authority to use heavy-handed methods instead of carefully listening to criticisms and proposals, and weighing them objectively.

Substituting the use of authority for patient political discussion and education by example is a common practice among middle-class layers who don't believe that working people really can, or should, gov-

ern. Behind the demagoguery, generalities, and often super-revolutionary rhetoric of such government officials is an anti-working class prejudice that presents a serious challenge for the revolution.

For all of these reasons, the ending of the state of emergency and the decision to put maximum priority on winning the "political-ideological battle" and minimizing the use of administrative measures is a big step forward.

Atlantic Coast: the precursor

The victory over the contras opened the door to this political initiative. Until that was substantially achieved, this shift was precluded.

But the strategic defeat of the contras by itself was not enough to make this initiative possible. A crucial precedent was set by the victory of the FSLN's proautonomy policy on the Atlantic Coast, where most of Nicaragua's Indians and Blacks live.

In 1984 the Sandinista leadership began implementing a sharp change in policy toward the coast peoples. They began moving away from reliance on military and other administrative methods of government. They elevated the place of political efforts to win support for the revolution along the lines that would lead to the adoption of the Autonomy Plan in 1987.

Administrative measures on the Atlantic Coast had been heavily used earlier in an attempt to defeat the counterrevolutionary armies. In January 1982, for example, 8,500 Miskito and Sumo Indians who lived in 39 communities along the Coco River were forcibly uprooted for military reasons.

They were taken from their traditional lands and moved away from the river, which forms the border with Honduras. Other forced relocations also took place in 1982 and 1983. Whatever the military exigencies, the relocations were bitterly opposed by the indigenous peoples, and the political consequences were overwhelmingly negative.

In recent years, by championing Atlantic Coast autonomy and approaching the task of winning support for the revolution there as a fundamentally political challenge, the Sandinista leadership has been able to turn the Atlantic Coast into a stronghold of the revolution.

The significance of the victory extends beyond the Atlantic Coast, and beyond the question of autonomy for indigenous peoples. It has given broad layers of the FSLN greater confidence that political leadership can successfully expand the base of support for the revolution among the working classes. The course on the Atlantic Coast was the precursor of a political approach for all of Nicaragua.

Leadership challenge

The new "terms of engagement" called for by the end of the contra war put a premium on political leadership. Deepening the self-confidence and organization of the exploited classes and minimizing reliance on administrative measures requires guidance from class-struggle fighters. They must combine shouldering the day-to-day tasks of the revolution with clear ideas about the lines along which the revolution can move forward.

From this point of view, the advance of class-struggle understanding among the worker and farmer leaders who are organized in the FSLN will be decisive in meeting the leadership challenges the new situation presents.

Judy White joins Managua Bureau

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Judy White has joined the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* bureau in Managua, Nicaragua.

White was the editor of *Perspectiva Mundial* from September 1977 to October 1978. Prior to that from 1974 to 1977, she was a member of the editorial staff of the international news magazine *Intercontinental Press*.

White joined the Socialist Workers Party in the United States in 1960. Like thousands of other youths of her generation, she was inspired by the Cuban revolution and the U.S. civil rights movement. She was a leader in the fight against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

In 1966, White ran for governor of New York on the SWP ticket.

Most recently, she worked as an aircraft assembler in San Diego and was a

member of the United Auto Workers. She has been active in solidarity activities with the revolutionary struggles in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

White will be replacing Roberto Kopec in Managua. Kopec joined the bureau early in 1987. He was a staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial* from 1980 to 1985. After leaving the *PM* staff, Kopec worked in a chemical plant in Houston, Texas, and was a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227.

White joins Harvey McArthur and Larry Seigle, the other two *Militant* staff members currently assigned in Nicaragua.

McArthur, previously a garment worker, joined the bureau staff in January 1986.

Seigle, a former editor of the *Militant* and a contributor to the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, has headed the Managua Bureau since November 1987.

The *Militant* has been bringing readers on-the-scene reports from our bureau in Nicaragua since August 1979, just one month after the revolution triumphed there.

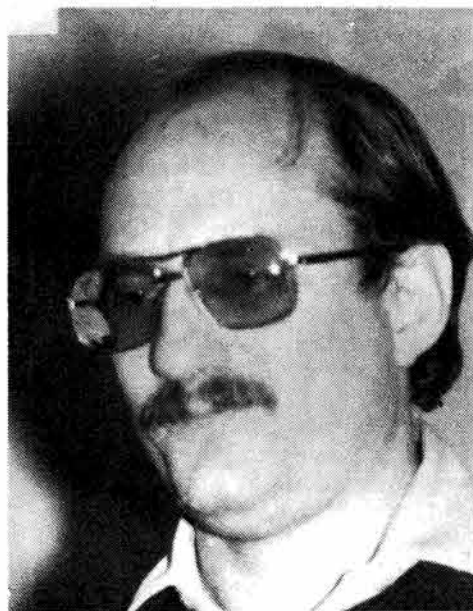
This continuity provides *Militant* and *PM* readers with the most accurate and timely direct reports on the progress on the Nicaraguan revolution available anywhere in English. This has included substantial coverage of the historic autonomy process being carried out on the Atlantic Coast, where the majority of Nicaragua's Black and Indian populations live. In addition, our correspondents have translated and helped make available to an international audience statements of the Nicaraguan government and Sandinista leaders on the progress of the revolution, as well as the difficulties it continues to face.

Just since the beginning of this year, our correspondents have traveled to Jinotega, Matagalpa, Muelle de los Bueyes, Masaya, and the Kama River and Kukra Hill on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. They have been reporting on the developments leading up to the end of the U.S.-organized contra war and are covering the opportunities and challenges that are now opened up for the revolution.

Maintaining a news bureau in Nicaragua is an expensive proposition. It includes the living expenses of our staff of three correspondents. We have to maintain a Jeep and a pickup truck so that the staff can make regular reporting trips, including in remote areas where the roads are quite rough.

The building that houses the bureau office in Managua is an expensive budget item in and of itself. So is the cost of telephone calls to the *Militant* and *PM* offices in New York. And we spend several thousand dollars a year in travel between the United States and Nicaragua.

To help us keep sending you the truth, send a donation to the *Militant* at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



Militant photos by Arthur Hughes

Judy White and Roberto Kopec

Colombian senator answers U.S. lies about drug trade

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — "When people here in the United States ask us if the drug problem isn't Colombia's main problem and we answer that no, it is not, their eyes widen in disbelief," said Pedro Alcántara, a senator from Colombia and member of the Patriotic Union (UP). During Colombia's last elections, the UP ranked third in votes.

Alcántara was here as part of an East Coast tour to meet with U.S. elected officials, international human rights organizations, and political groups. He explained that the purpose of his visit was to "publicize the dramatic and difficult situation concerning human rights in our country and to explain the various aspects of the struggle the Colombian people are engaged in in defense of democracy and peace."

Alcántara commented that "in the eyes of the average U.S. citizen, Colombians are guilty of drug trading and of 'terrorism'. It seems that all Colombians are guilty of that crime. U.S. public opinion is being prepared to accept any type of activity against Colombia as morally justified in the name of the struggle against the drug trade."

"The press puts news of the huge massacres, the horrendous assassinations of Colombian workers and peasants, within the framework of drug trafficking. According to this logic, which is also the logic of U.S. foreign policy, in a country of bandits, anything is possible, even a future military intervention."

Smokescreen to hide social problems

The Colombian senator explained that "the smokescreen of the drug trade and terrorism is used to hide the deep social problems faced by the Colombian people."

It is estimated that income from the production of drugs in Colombia ranges from \$500 million to \$1 billion a year. Colombia's total export earnings in 1985 were \$3.5 billion. This makes the cultivation of coca — the plant cocaine is extracted from — a major industry in Colombia.

"For us the huge coca industry has deep social roots. The majority of the dispossessed peasants are forced to live a subhuman existence, and their only chance of

survival is through growing the coca plant."

Alcántara explained that in Colombia 4.5 percent of the population owns more than 65 percent of the land. "This fact tells the whole story," he said. "The Colombian peasants do not have adequate land. They lack technical assistance. They have no access to credit. There are no markets. There are no roads. The infrastructure does not exist that would allow them to become an integral part of the country's economy. Therefore they have no other choice than to raise coca."

"That is why we cannot accept punitive acts, nor the coercive measures proposed by the Reagan administration, which attempt to solve through police measures problems that can only be solved through a profound transformation of the social reality of our country."

The only solution to the problem of drug production, he explained, is a real, democratic social reform that will be able to satisfy the needs of the great majority of the peasants who are forced to participate in the drug industry.

Growing repression

During the last two decades the left-wing guerrilla movement has been gaining strength in Colombia, explained the senator. The government and the media use the term "narcoguerrillas" in an attempt to link the guerrilla movement to the drug trade.

"The guerrilla movement in Colombia is linked to the drug trade only in the sense that the guerrilla groups fight for the rights of the peasants, all the peasants, including those involved in growing the coca plant. The guerrilla movement supports their demands against the big businessmen who control the industry," Alcántara emphasized.

The Colombian government has used the excuse of the drug trade and alleged left-wing terrorism to implement a number of repressive measures, the main purpose of which is to curb the growing struggles of Colombia's working people, he explained.

Colombia has been under a state of siege since 1984. In January, President Virgilio Barco Vargas signed an emergency "anti-



Colombian peasants packing coca crop. Patriotic Union leader described miserable conditions forced on coca farmers, who are mercilessly exploited by big business. Agricultural workers have been hit hard by recent right-wing massacres.

terrorist" decree. "This decree, cynically called 'Decree in Defense of Democracy,' was supposedly designed to combat the drug trade," said Alcántara. "Yet it makes no mention of the drug trade. The decree, in fact, is only another tool to limit the democratic rights of the Colombian people."

One of the main objectives of Alcántara's visit was to address the Interamerican Committee on Human Rights of the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C.

Alcántara described the current situation in Colombia as a "dirty war" carried out by paramilitary forces with the direct complicity of the government and sectors of the Colombian military. According to figures given by Colombia's Permanent Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, 1,651 people were victims of political assassinations by government-backed forces in 1987.

Alcántara's visit coincided with the publication of Amnesty International's report on human rights in Colombia.

Under the heading "Colombia, a human rights emergency," the briefing states, "There is convincing evidence that the Colombian armed forces have adopted a policy of terror, designed to intimidate and eliminate opponents without recourse to law."

The report goes on to say, "Since mid-1987, the range of victims has extended far beyond left-wing opponents of the government. The people now singled out are not only those who criticize the government or the armed forces, but also those who merely fail to support them."

The Amnesty International report points out that the government attributes the killings to "death squads," which it portrays as mysterious gunmen, civilians it can neither identify nor control.

"However, hundreds of case studies show that the killings and 'disappearances' blamed on the 'death squads' were in fact carried out by police and military personnel and their civilian auxiliaries, acting on the authority of the army high command," the report concludes.

By the government's own admission, there are more than 140 paramilitary groups operating in Colombia today, explained Alcántara.

Most of the victims of the death squads have been political activists, trade unionists, and peasants. "During the last two and a half years, 500 members of the Patriotic Union have been murdered by these right-wing paramilitary squads," Alcántara pointed out. So far this year more than 300 people have been killed by the rightist bands.

Rightists murder banana workers

Among the hardest hit by the violence have been the banana plantation workers in the northwest.

Twenty-one peasants were murdered on two banana plantations in Urabá on March 4. That morning, about 80 men, some dressed in military uniforms, arrived at the "Honduras" plantation. They gathered together a number of men who were identified by name by an informer. As each man was named he was executed. The married men were murdered in front of their wives and children. They were accused of being sympathizers of the left-wing guerrilla organizations. All were members of the Sintagro banana workers' union. Sintagro and Sintrabanano are the unions that

represent more than 90 percent of the banana workers in the region. Following the massacre the banana unions stated that direct responsibility for the deaths lay with Army Brigade X, stationed in the Urabá area. The unions demanded that the government immediately remove the army from the region. During the second week of April, more than 25 others were murdered in Urabá.

"The banana is one of Colombia's main export crops," explained Alcántara. "All the bananas produced in this region are exported. Most of the bananas sold in the United States come from this region."

The banana workers' unions have traditionally been among the most militant in the country, the Colombian senator said. "They have joined the recently formed United Workers Federation, which includes more than 80 percent of organized labor in Colombia."

The situation of the banana workers is an example of the current struggles by the oppressed of Colombia, he explained.

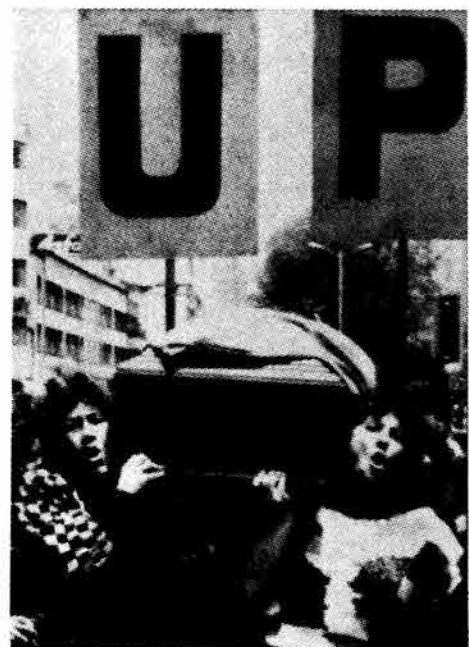
These workers have combined struggles for basic economic demands with participation in the political arena and growing support for the guerrilla forces in the area.

"An example of their growing strength has been the fact that they have elected representatives to all the municipal councils in the Urabá region. This is something that the big plantation owners, those who own the land, those who own the banana industry, are afraid of and that is why there has been an increase in repression."

"Since they have not been able to suppress this work force through the democratic, legal channels — since the banana unions have not been defeated at the ballot box — now they try to defeat them through the use of terror," he added.

Alcántara concluded, "Only a profound reform, like an agrarian reform that meets the needs of the peasantry and makes them an integral part of the economic system, can be a real first step in the concrete fight against the drug trade. Any other measure is ridiculous."

"They can extradite any number of drug dealers and a new group will take their place, because there is a market. As long as a market for drugs exists, drugs will be produced in Colombia, or in Peru, or in Bolivia, or Ecuador, or in any other part of the world."



Funeral in Bogotá for assassinated Patriotic Union leader.

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The article by Cindy Jaquith covers the fight for land, the struggles of sugar workers, the fight against racist attacks on immigrant workers, the fight for women's rights in the factories, and the fight against the foreign debt.

"U.S. policy has one purpose — to keep the underdeveloped countries backward," said peasant leader Juan Sánchez.



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'El Diario' on Marroquín residency fight

We are printing below two articles from the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*. The first, from the April 21 issue, describes the decade-long fight of Mexican-born socialist Héctor Marroquín for the right to live in the United States.

The second, by Rafael Anglada López, in the April 27 issue was titled "Amnesty and immigration." Anglada López is one of the lawyers for the Hartford 15, Puerto Rican independence activists being framed up by the U.S. government. The translations are by the *Militant*.

BY MANUEL AVENDAÑO

After living in the United States for 11 years, during which time his request for political asylum was turned down and he was under constant threat of deportation, 34-year-old Mexican political activist Héctor Marroquín obtained a residence card under the government's amnesty program.

"This is a victory, but it also establishes a precedent against discrimination on the basis of political ideas, socialist or otherwise," Marroquín said yesterday after receiving his temporary residence card from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Marroquín explained that he came to the United States on April 9, 1974, because of repression during that period directed against students who were demanding freedom for political prisoners.

"After what became known as the Tlatelolco massacre, which occurred on Oct. 2, 1968, as a high school student I became interested in the student movement," Marroquín recounted. "Later, as an economics student in Nuevo León, several of my friends were arrested and tortured by the police," he added.

He explained that some of the other students had told him he was next on the list, so he decided to leave the country. He went to Houston, Texas, where, after three years, the immigration authorities arrested him for being in the country illegally. They began deportation proceedings against him.

The Mexican activist applied for political asylum in October 1977, but his application was denied. "The hearing lasted four days. We presented proof of the repression in Mexico, in which a number of my friends were assassinated — and in which 600 people had been disappeared," he pointed out.

The case of Marroquín, who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, reached the Supreme Court after going through various appeals courts with no decision in his favor. In 1983 he married a U.S. citizen and this, he explained, "prevented them from deciding to deport me."

When Congress approved the amnesty law for undocumented immigrants who have been here since before 1982, Marroquín again applied for a residence card. "I was the first to apply in New York," he said, remembering the day last May 5 in which he was first in line to apply when the amnesty program began.

That day, after two hours of interviews and consultations with supervisors, Marroquín obtained a temporary work permit, considering it "a first important step." Two days ago, after waiting for almost a year, he received a two-year residence card.

"Under this program, my political affiliation has not been an obstacle for receiving

amnesty, but I think the pressure exerted by various organizations that supported me has been very important," said the new legal resident.

Marroquín was born in the city of Matamoros, in the state of Tamaulipas. He reaffirmed his decision not to return to Mexico "because I've become integrated into daily life in the United States."

* * *

BY RAFAEL ANGLADA LÓPEZ

Within a few days the deadline will be up for all immigrants who don't yet "have their papers in order and qualify" for so-called amnesty. By May 4 they have to get the documents in order and present them to the authorities at the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Last week the House of Representatives in Washington approved an extension of the deadline for applying for "amnesty" by a vote of 213 to 201. The Senate still has to approve the grace period. And President Ronald Reagan, in the waning days of his administration, has to have the goodness to sign it into law. The INS has asked Reagan not to concede the grace period.

The INS is currently receiving an average of 10,000 applications daily. If the extension is granted, between 100,000 and 500,000 immigrants will eventually be able to benefit from the amnesty program. With two weeks remaining before the May 4 deadline, only 1,200,000 immigrants have applied for amnesty.

We're living through a period in the history of the United States in which the ruling class and its racist ideologues are presenting a xenophobic picture of the present and future of this country.

These racists forget that the United States is supposed to be "a nation of immigrants." The problem these white supremacists have is that immigrants to this country are no longer white — they are now Asian, Central American, and Caribbean.

Some 150 years ago, between 1820 and 1860, 95 percent of the legal immigration into this country came from northern and western Europe. Between 1961 and 1970, 52 percent of immigrants were Asian and Latin American. Between 1981 and 1985, 83 percent of all legal immigrants to the United States came from Asia and Latin America.

By 1910 more than 14 percent of the entire U.S. population was foreign-born. By the 1970s, the percentage of U.S. residents born outside the country dropped to less than 5 percent, but by the 1980s, more than 6 percent of the total U.S. population was foreign-born.

A bill recently submitted to Congress would change the basis for admitting immigrants. Instead of being based on having a relative who is a resident or citizen of the United States, it proposes basing admission to this country on a points system, in which much would depend on the level of education of the applicant, and his or her knowledge of English. They are trying in an underhanded way to introduce "U.S. English Only" through the back door for new immigrants and, on the other hand, discriminate against those with less education.

The daily life of foreigners and immigrants in this country is full of abuses of their rights. Their cause is a cause for justice and equality. This is why the recent victory of Latino leader Héctor Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is so important. After an 11-year battle he won a U.S. temporary residence and work

ban-and-bar order was a result of an earlier protest at Offutt, home of the Strategic Air Command.

Felion was due to appear in court April 12 on her latest trespassing charge, but in late March she circulated a flyer stating that she would not appear, but instead would seek sanctuary in a Catholic church.

The FBI felt this statement of intent was grounds for revoking her bail. The cops forced their way into a house where Felion was staying, in the process roughing up several people, including a 67-year old woman. The arrest was carried through without the presentation of arrest or search warrants.



Héctor Marroquín displays temporary residency card at New York immigration office April 20.

permit.

The decision of the First Circuit Court of Appeals, based in Boston, that it is illegal to deny Hortensia Allende [widow of assassinated president Salvador Allende of Chile] a visa to the United States is also a victory for everyone. It's also very important that a suit brought recently against the

injustices that political refugees are subjected to in the detention centers near Kennedy Airport in New York — will be heard in court.

The fight by immigrants and by foreigners visiting here in the United States for the right to express their principles and their ideas is everyone's fight.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Norway 'missing' 15 tons of atomic water

Norway's foreign minister, Lasse Seim, confirmed on May 4 that 15 tons of heavy water, which is used in the operation of nuclear power plants, has been reported "missing" from Norway. This is the second reported occurrence of heavy water missing from that country; the first was in 1983.

That year Norway sold just over 15 tons of heavy water to the West German company Rohstoff Einfuhr. The pilot of the plane that was to deliver the nuclear water to Frankfurt flew instead to Basel, Switzerland. The cargo was then shipped to an "unknown" destination.

Heavy water, deuterium oxide, can be a key ingredient in a series of steps to make nuclear weapons. According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, 20 tons of heavy water would be sufficient to run a nuclear reactor for a year and produce enough plutonium to conduct a nuclear explosion.

Norway also sells heavy water to Israel for use in its nuclear power plant reactors. Israel has been charged with using the water to produce nuclear weapons. Norwegian press reports have speculated that the latest missing shipment of heavy water may have gone to India or Pakistan.

In both incidents the Norwegian government and companies involved claim to have no idea where the heavy water ended up. But on May 6 the Rohstoff Einfuhr Co. issued a statement that denied that the change in destination of the heavy water had been secret or illegal.

Cuba to remain site of next Pan Am games

Mario Vázquez Raña, president of the Pan American Sports Organization, told reporters at an April 10 news conference in Havana that he thinks the 1991 Pan Am games will remain in Cuba as scheduled.

Cuba's right to host the games was called into question following Havana's January 15 announcement that it would not send athletes to the summer Olympic games in Seoul, South Korea. Cuba's decision is in support of North Korea's unfulfilled demand to be a co-host.

Several members of the Pan American Sports Organization asserted that the 1991 games were granted to Cuba on condition that Cuba participate in the 1987 Pan American Games held in Indianapolis, and in the Seoul Olympics. Vázquez explained that no conditions had been placed on Cuba's hosting of the 1991 games.

Mobutu hits opponents with internal exile

The Zairian government of President Mobutu Sese Seko has arrested Tshisekedi Wa Mulumba and Birindwa Ci Birhashira and sentenced them to internal exile. Tshisekedi and Birindwa are leaders of the country's main opposition group, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP).

The UDSP was formed in 1982 and consists mainly of former members of the Mobutu regime. Tshisekedi is a former interior and justice minister and Birindwa a former top economic adviser. Several other members of the UDSP have also been sent into internal exile.

Tshisekedi and 13 other members of parliament broke with Mobutu in 1981. Since then Tshisekedi has been arrested nine times.

He was arrested along with 100 others and imprisoned after leading a January 17 rally of 1,000 people against the government. The rally was held on the same day, 27 years ago, that Patrice Lumumba was taken to Katanga Province and executed. Lumumba was the most prominent revolutionary leader in the Congo's fight against Belgian colonial rule. He was the country's first prime minister.

Tshisekedi was last arrested on April 8 after he had urged a boycott of upcoming local elections. Neither Tshisekedi nor Birindwa have been charged with any crime.

According to a May 2 *New York Times* report, Zairian officials defended their actions against the two men by arguing that internal exile is more humane than prison and that "the Belgians, as colonial rulers, carried out the same practice three decades ago against advocates of independence. . . ."

FBI arrests Omaha antiwar activist

BY BOB FITZWATER

OMAHA, Neb. — Marilyn Felion, past director of the Omaha chapter of Nebraskans for Peace, was recently sentenced to 30 days in jail. She was arrested by the FBI at the home of a friend on March 31. Felion was a long-term resident in the area of northern Nicaragua that borders Honduras, working with Witness for Peace.

The arrest came five days after Felion organized and spoke at a broadly sponsored picket line of 90 people in front of the Douglas County Courthouse protesting the sending of U.S. troops to Honduras.

Last December 27 she had stepped onto Offutt Air Force Base property after being banned and barred from that location. The

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley

Bay Area Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua. With John Stockwell, Elisabeth Linder, Brian Willson, Carolyn Stevens. Sat., May 21, 7 p.m. Berkeley Community Theater, 1930 Allston Way. Donation: \$7. Sponsor: Bay Area Veterans Convoy, Nicaragua Information Center, National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee. For more information call (415) 285-8610.

Los Angeles

Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. Speakers: Yvonne Meléndez Carrión and Elías Castro Ramos, Hartford 15 defendants. Sat., May 14, 7 p.m. 1010 S Flower. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Comité Puertorriqueño Betances. For more information call (213) 296-5605.

El Salvador: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow. Speaker: Miguel Marmol, longtime Salvadoran labor organizer. Thurs., May 19, 7 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W 8th St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: El Salvadoran Solidarity Information Office. For more information call (213) 969-9274.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford

Vigil in Support of Puerto Rican Independence Political Prisoners and the Ohio Seven. Sun., May 22, 3-4 p.m. Hartford Federal Detention Center, Weston Rd. For more information call (413) 733-0565 (Massachusetts) or (212) 969-0448 (New York).

FLORIDA

Miami

Behind the U.S. Drug Market. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Malcolm X: His Meaning for Today. Speaker: Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 21. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3, forum \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Nuclear Weapons and U.S. Intervention: "The Deadly Connection" and How to Fight It. Speaker: Mark Emanation, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and

Textile Workers Union Local 1. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

Austin

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sun., May 15. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 407½ N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Mankato

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Tues., May 17, 12 noon. MSU Student Center, Room 103. Sponsor: Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Minneapolis

The Antiwar Movement: Which Way Forward? A panel of seven speakers representing Twin Cities organizations discuss ongoing struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. Central American Resource Center, 1701 University Ave. SE. Sponsor: Coalition to Stop the War. For more information call (612) 378-1460.

St. Paul

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information on this event and Socialist Educational Weekend of May 21-22 call (612) 644-6325.

Young Socialist Alliance Holiday Cookout. Sun., May 29. For rides, information, and directions call (612) 645-1674.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

U.S. Hands Off Iran! Speaker: Greg Preston, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 14, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf. Stop the Attacks on Iran! Speakers: Harry Ring, Militant staff writer; Nader Arini, Iranian socialist. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

How the United States Uses Puerto Rico as a Military Base for Intervention in Central America. Forum Fri., May 13, 7 p.m. El Caney, 170 E 116th St. Sponsor: Latinos Unidos Contra la Intervención.

The Defeat of the Contras: Reconstructing the New Nicaragua. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, coeditor *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8845.

For Peace and Friendship: U.S. Tour of Nicaraguan Trade Unionists, April/May 1988. Juan Gonzáles Rojas, Sandinista Workers Confederation; Alba Palacios Benavides, Association of Rural Workers; Marvin Cortez Estrada, National Union of Public Employees. New York Labor Welcome. Thurs., May 19, 7-9 p.m. Local 1199, 310 W 43rd St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, D.C. 37 Committee on Central America and the Caribbean. For more information call (718) 252-0157.

Palestine and the Fight for Arab Liberation. Speaker: Fred Feldman, *Militant* staff writer. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Farm Workers and the Fight for Job Safety. Speakers: Mike Fitzsimmons, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., May 15, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

After the Stock Market Crash: What Road Forward for Working People? Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. Sat., May 21, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Six Months After the Stock Market Crash: What Lies Ahead for Working People? Speaker: Norton Sandler, circulation director of the *Militant*. Sat., May 14, 7 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Ohio Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The MOVE Grand Jury: Justice Has Not Been Done. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 15, 5 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Poland: the Current Status of the Workers' Movement. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

Socialist Program to Fight for Jobs, Racial Justice, and Peace. Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sat., May 14, 7 p.m. Buffet dinner to follow. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$5. Sponsor: 1988 Western Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Malcolm X: His Legacy for Today. Speaker: Greg Jackson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

The Soviet Union and Glasnost. Speaker: Tom Kincaid, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

The Palestinian Peoples' Fight for Land and Freedom. Speakers: James Khyrne, Young Socialist Alliance; representative Palestine Solidarity Committee. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Socialist Workers Election Campaign Rally: An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Working People. Speakers: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president; Rashaad Ali, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland; Gail Skidmore, SWP candidate for at-large member of D.C. Council. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 14. Reception, 6:30 p.m., program, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Workers '88 Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Socialist conference to be held in London

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — British distributors of the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* are hosting a three-day educational and activist conference May 28-30.

"A central theme of the meeting will be how a revolutionary organization carries out its political work in the aftermath of the Oct. 19, 1987, stock market crash," said conference organizer Marcella Fitzgerald. "The crash heralded the approach of a far-reaching economic crisis and deepening class struggle internationally," she said.

"The conference will also provide an opportunity for members of the rail, engineering, and telecommunications unions to meet and discuss their political work in the unions," said Fitzgerald, "as well as the importance of building a fraction of communist workers in the miners' union."

The main political talk on the implications of the crash for working people will be given by Brian Grogan, national secretary of the Communist League. The presentation will be the basis for discussion in plenary sessions, union fraction meetings, and special workshops over the three days.

A talk will also be given by a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States on the victory in the SWP's lawsuit against FBI spying.

The conference will also feature a special panel discussion on "Revolutionary Cuba today," with participants in recent tours to Cuba who will share their firsthand look at the "rectification process" being led by the Cuban Communist Party.

A rally to raise funds for the new Pathfinder bookshop in London will be held the evening of May 28. A £15,000 (US\$28,000) fund has been launched for the bookshop, which will open in central London this summer.

For more information contact Conference Organiser, c/o New International, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.

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ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1306 1st Ave. N. Zip: 35203. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850. **Tucson:** YSA, c/o Ursula Kolb, P.O. Box 853. Zip: 85702-0852. Tel: (602) 795-2146.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **Seaside:** YSA, c/o Brian Olewude, 1790 Havana St. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-7948.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 363-7322.

INDIANA: Muncie: YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 619½ N. Dill St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 747-8543.

IOWA: Des Moines: SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: YSA, P.O. Box 53224. Zip: 70153. Tel: (504) 484-6418.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o David Warshawsky, P.O. Box 1383, Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-4843. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407½ N. Main Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: SWP, YSA, 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. **New Brunswick:** YSA, c/o Keith Jordan, 149 Somerset St. Zip: 08903. Tel: (201) 828-1874.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Lisa Sandberg, 120 Lark St. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 463-8001. **Mid-Hudson:** YSA, Box 1042, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Pathfinder Books, 226-8445. **Stony Brook:** YSA, P.O. Box 1384, Patchogue, N.Y. Zip: 11772.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: SWP, YSA, 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

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16412. Tel: (814) 398-2754. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 255 E. Main St., No. 1. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 6538, Churchland Station. Zip: 23707.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Well, that's a relief — Commenting on that Boeing jet that managed to land at the Tokyo airport after three of its four engines



Harry Ring

conked out, a company exec said the safe landing didn't surprise him. "Almost any aircraft we have is capable of operating on one engine," he assured.

Divided loyalty? — We were perplexed by the disclosure that

the Reagans were into astrology. We had assumed that White House decisions were the product of a simple, slavish concern for the ruling rich.

Domestic "freedom fighters" — "Strikes are on the increase... as union workers 'just say no' to wage and benefit concessions," warns Martin Herman, head of a Maryland strikebreaking outfit that offers 200 "specially trained professionals." Their slogan: "A private army when you need it most."

But not J. Edgar's — It was revealed, several years ago, that the FBI tailed Albert Einstein for 23 years, checking out reports that the famed physicist headed a spy

ring, engineered a communist plot to take over Hollywood, participated in the Lindbergh kidnapping, and also invented a robot capable of reading human minds.

There's the proof — Einstein was an avowed opponent of war, supporter of Black rights, and partisan of socialism.

Golly, imagine if they did — Explaining about New York cops shooting civilians, and each other, Lawrence Sherman, a criminology prof, says that unlike soldiers, "they don't get very much practice."

Sounds reasonable — Gary Betzner, a convicted drug traf-

ficker, told a Senate committee he had flown weapons to the Contras and brought back drugs. Most drug traffickers, he explained, are staunch anticommunists and opponents of the Nicaraguan revolution. "It's strictly a capitalists' movement, this drug business," he said.

Sheer coincidence — In Canada, Marie Menard was convicted of lifting \$88,000 from the office fund of her boss, an Ottawa politician. She drew three months, but after one night behind bars was transferred to a halfway house. Her father is a millionaire.

With a set of keys for Ed? — The Bender real estate family,

which began picking up the tab on Ursula Meese's \$40,000-a-year job after obtaining a lucrative leasing deal from the Justice Dept., has won a new federal leasing package. They'll provide "secure" facilities for the independent counsel probing the Iran-contra caper.

Travel tip — If you make it to L.A. and want a decent set of wheels, Budget Rent-a-Car offices in Beverly Hills or Marina Del Rey will let you have a Rolls convertible for \$450 a day, plus \$75 for collision coverage.

Why don't they quit — An international study found that rich people are often no more satisfied with their lives than poor people.

Behind vote for ultrarightist in French election

Continued from back page
miners have openly campaigned for Le Pen.

Auto industry hit by crisis

The crisis has also hit the auto industry. At Renault, where I work, the work force has been cut in recent years from 105,000 to 75,000 and the bosses have announced plans to slash it further, to 45,000. The assembly lines have been shut down at the large Boulogne-Billancourt Renault plant, where a majority of the workers were immigrants.

None of the unions, or the political parties they are affiliated to, have put forward a program to fight the crisis.

Many CP-led municipal governments have established quotas that exclude immi-

grants from housing and from obtaining social services. This quota system flows from the CP's approach to the economic crisis. "Produce French" has been that party's principal slogan.

Some workers have taken this to its logical conclusion. If the best way to fight unemployment is to fight imports and to defend "French production," why not insure that French production is carried out only by French-born, white workers?

This explains why some workers who had formerly voted for the CP could be attracted to Le Pen.

Polarization

Immigrant workers today are deeply troubled by the polarization developing as

a result of the economic crisis.

It is not uncommon for them to discuss whether or not all white workers are racists. Others ask whether the unions can be counted on to defend their living standard and rights. And they are wondering whether anything can be done to oppose Le Pen's growing strength.

This includes workers from the French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Caribbean, who only a few years ago were often embarrassed to be associated with African immigrants.

The bosses force the African workers, many of whom are illiterate, to carry out the lowest-paid and dirtiest jobs in the factory.

Since Martinique and Guadeloupe are French colonies, workers from these islands have the right to vote in French elections. "We are not immigrants," many of these workers used to insist.

Today it is more common for these unionists to say, "We are not French." Many of them have also been convinced of the need for independence for their homeland.

Pierre Juquin was the only candidate to put forward a demand that immigrants be allowed to vote in the election. He was the candidate of the Communist Renovators, a group that was expelled from the Communist Party. Juquin had been a Com-

munist Party spokesperson for a number of years before his recent expulsion.

Second round

Mitterrand's campaign was designed to appeal to middle-class layers. He pledged not to nationalize major industries, and his economic proposals differed little from those of Chirac. In campaign debates, Mitterrand also said he favored reducing the number of immigrants in France. He was backed by the large Socialist Party-led French Democratic Confederation of Labor.

Right before the second-round voting, French troops murdered 19 Kanak independence fighters in the French colony of New Caledonia in the South Pacific. Chirac allowed the return to France of an intelligence agent who had helped blow up the environmental protest ship *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand. The agent had been confined to a Pacific atoll after the 1985 bombing. Chirac also helped to arrange the release of French hostages being held in Lebanon.

But these moves, designed to appeal to "French national pride," failed to sway the election Chirac's way.

Eighteen percent of those who voted for Le Pen in the first round, in fact voted for Mitterrand in the second.

A subsequent article will take a look at an important series of strikes that began in the weeks preceding the election.

Palestinian fights deportation

Continued from back page

subjected to house-to-house searches.

But the Israelis hit fierce, unanticipated resistance when they reached the village of Maydun.

Stationed there were members of Hezbollah — the Party of God — a Lebanese militia force that came into being under the inspiration of the Iranian revolution.

The Israelis had apparently assumed the vastly outnumbered Hezbollah forces would head for the hills as they approached.

Instead, they stood and fought back. Despite heavy artillery shelling, they held the Israeli troops off for six hours. After they took the village, the Israelis said that three of their soldiers and 40 Lebanese were dead.

Residents of Maydun and other nearby villages were forced to flee. The Israelis left units of the South Lebanese Army behind with bulldozers. They smashed down 60 homes in Maydun.

On the road, one farmer told a reporter that he and his family of seven had fled

without food, water, or clothing. "There are hundreds like us," he said.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian uprising entered its sixth month May 9. It was marked by a general strike in Gaza and the West Bank. In Gaza, shops closed down and protesters set up road blocks on main streets. In the West Bank, all commercial activity came to a stop and, according to Israeli radio, transportation in a number of centers was paralyzed.

In a new move to break the resistance, the military command in Gaza ordered all Palestinians to turn in their ID cards for new ones.

Those reregistering who owe taxes or other levies are compelled to pay them to get the new \$15 cards.

In a blacklisting move, some of the new ID cards are marked to indicate the bearer is barred from crossing the border that separates the Gaza Strip from the rest of Israel. Most Gaza residents are dependent on jobs they commute to within the "green line," Israel's pre-1967 borders.

Books by Farrell Dobbs ...

The Teamster Series — 4 volumes, containing the history and lessons of one of the most important labor struggles of the 1930s and early '40s.

Teamster Rebellion (\$7.95); *Teamster Power*; *Teamster Politics*; *Teamster Bureaucracy* (\$8.95 each)

Revolutionary Continuity, Marxist Leadership in the U.S. — 2 volumes. How successive generations of working-class fighters have participated in the struggles of the U.S. labor movement and its allies, seeking to build a Marxist leadership that can effectively advance the interests of workers and exploited farmers.

Revolutionary Continuity: the Early Years: 1848-1917. Revolutionary Continuity: the Birth of the Communist Movement: 1918-22. (\$8.95 each)

Farrell Dobbs was a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a leader of the Teamsters struggles in the 1930s and '40s.

Available at bookstores listed on page 12, or order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75 cents for postage and handling.

Also available from Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia or Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
May 19, 1978

Widespread protests against the shah's dictatorial rule erupted throughout Iran during the first week of April.

The demonstrations were held in response to calls by several prominent religious leaders for a day of mourning and a nationwide bazaar strike on March 30, to honor those killed by the shah's army during the huge antigovernment demonstration in Tabriz in February.

The religious leaders called for "peaceful" mosque ceremonies and repeatedly asked their supporters to be "calm" and "disciplined" so as not to give the government any excuse to repeat the Tabriz bloodbath.

The wave of protests that began on March 30 spread through at least 55 cities, towns, and villages. According to official accounts, they resulted in five deaths and 98 arrests.

The demonstrators attacked public buildings, banks, movie theaters, and the shah's party headquarters in many cities, breaking windows and in some cases burning the buildings.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
May 20, 1963 Price 10c

MAY 15 — A victory for the Negro

struggle for equality — even a token victory — is yet to be won in Birmingham. The May 10 settlement, which was hailed by Rev. Martin Luther King as "a great victory," has been sabotaged by the violence of Birmingham's white-supremacist officials.

It is now clear that the agreement guarantees nothing for the Negroes. Whether anything positive comes of it depends on what mass pressure the Negroes can still bring to bear both in Birmingham and nationally — that is in forcing the federal government to put the heat on Birmingham's economic and financial rulers.

According to Sidney Smeyer, the representative of Birmingham's white businessmen, the agreement provided for integration of facilities in downtown department stores within 90 days, but only on a trial basis.

Everything now depends on the Negroes maintaining — in Rev. M. L. King's words — "a position of strength" from which to bargain.

A key problem in this regard is that the positions of armed strength on the scene are held entirely by the white racists — the various city, county, and state police forces. These do not protect Negroes in their lawful demonstrations, but attack them. Since last Sunday, indeed, the state troopers stand poised, not with fire hoses but with shotguns and carbines.

As one of Birmingham's Negro leaders, Rev. A.D. King, pointed out, it was known that the police would not protect Negroes from racist violence. He said that is what caused Birmingham's Negroes to fight back after racists exploded two bombs the night of May 11.

Build June 11 rallies!

The June 11 marches and rallies in New York City and San Francisco promise to be large outpourings of opponents of nuclear weapons and U.S. intervention in Central America and around the world.

The June 11 actions have been called in support of the Third United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. They are being organized by the SSD-III National Coalition, headquartered in New York City, which has won the support of a spectrum of unions, antiwar groups, Black rights organizations, and political groups.

In cities across the country coalitions are mobilizing to bring thousands in buses and cars to the two actions.

Building the June 11 events should be at the top of the agenda for antiwar fighters.

The contra war against Nicaragua is over, but Washington's pressure on Nicaragua remains intense and unrelenting. In the wake of the vast destruction wrought by the U.S.-organized contras, the Reagan administration announced April 25 that it is extending the embargo on trade with Nicaragua for a fourth year.

And the significant U.S. military presence in Honduras, threats and pressure against Panama, and the role of U.S. advisers in directing the Salvadoran government's war against the people of El Salvador are continuing.

Washington continues to fund terrorist bands who collaborate with South African troops occupying parts of Angola.

And in the Persian Gulf, Washington has launched five military attacks on Iranian forces or oil platforms since October. The U.S. government and its allies have built up a large force of warships, combat planes, and troops in the gulf region to aid the Iraqi government in its war against Iran.

The danger of nuclear war has haunted the people of the world since the U.S. rulers dropped nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Today, the potential of escalation that could pose the threat of nuclear weapons being used stems from U.S. aggression — and that of

U.S. allies like Israel and South Africa — in Central America, southern Africa, the Persian Gulf, and elsewhere in the world.

And for every nuclear weapon that is produced, more and more lethal radioactive substances are being churned out, with no way to safely dispose of them.

The June 11 protests will be a chance to express the deep opposition that exists in this country and around the globe to nuclear war and nuclear weapons.

The international scope of that opposition was highlighted recently when the parliament in Denmark voted to require the government to inform visiting warships that a 31-year-old law bars nuclear weapons from Danish territory.

The U.S. and British governments — the Danish government's allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) — have waged a bitter campaign against the measure. The imperialists say it challenges their policy of refusing to admit whether warships are nuclear-armed.

June 11 will be an opportunity for opponents of U.S. aggression against Nicaragua to demand that Washington provide massive aid to rebuild Nicaragua, end its trade embargo, and normalize relations with that war-torn country.

June 11 will be an opportunity for antiwar fighters to demand that Washington dismantle its military installations in Honduras and Panama, get U.S. advisers and arms out of El Salvador, withdraw the U.S. and allied armada from the Persian Gulf region, and end complicity with South African and Israeli aggression.

The June 11 protests will be a chance for union members, farmers, civil rights fighters, women, students, and others from all over the United States to voice their opposition to war and nuclear weapons.

In the few weeks that remain before the San Francisco and New York actions take place, antiwar and antinuclear fighters should step up their efforts to assure the biggest, broadest turnout possible.

Officials cleared in MOVE bombing

Morally reprehensible. Marked by political cowardice. An epic of government incompetence. An amazing leadership void.

With these high-sounding words, a Philadelphia grand jury on May 3 cleared every government, police, and fire department official in that city of responsibility for the cold-blooded, racist mass murder they committed two years ago against the predominantly Black group MOVE. Eleven people, including five children, were killed.

On May 12, 1985 — using the pretext of evicting MOVE members from their home — hundreds of uniformed and plainclothes cops, along with a massive arsenal, were deployed around the 6200 block of Osage Avenue in West Philadelphia, a Black working-class neighborhood.

More than 150 fire fighters were brought into the area. Barricades were erected, and cops went door-to-door, telling residents they had 12 hours to evacuate their homes. Anyone who resisted was threatened with arrest.

The *Militant* described what happened next. "At 3:30 a.m. Monday, May 13, the Bomb Disposal Unit moved into the blockaded area. Other cops erected a wall of sandbags behind the MOVE house. Five fire trucks and unmarked tractors also moved into the area.

"At 3:40 a.m. the Philadelphia Electric Co. cut off power to the 6200 block of Osage. At 5:35 a.m. Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor gave MOVE 16 minutes to surrender. MOVE refused, demanding the release of their members in prison.

"At 5:50 a.m. fire fighters began to spray the house with 64,000 gallons of water. At 5:53 a.m. the shooting began. Cops fired 7,000 to 10,000 rounds of ammunition."

Monday afternoon, Mayor W. Wilson Goode held a news conference. He stated, "We intend to take control of the house by any means necessary. I am totally convinced that the group is bent on violent confrontation."

Working people around the world were horrified by what followed.

At 5:27 p.m., a state police helicopter dropped a bomb on the roof of the MOVE home. The house burst into flames, which spread rapidly to adjoining houses. Fire fighters were blocked from the area for more than an hour. By 9:30 p.m. the fire had reached six alarms. The inferno raged until 11:41 p.m., when the fire was declared under control. By that time, 61 homes had been burned to the ground, leaving 240 people homeless.

While the fire was burning, cops attacked the MOVE home, kicking in the door and windows. Ramona Johnson Africa, 30, and a small child named Birdie Africa, both severely burned, ran out of the house. After only brief hospital treatment, Ramona Africa was re-

turned to the police administration building and arrested on 16 different charges. After a three-minute arraignment, bail was set at \$3 million.

Members of MOVE had been the target of violent cop harassment for more than a decade.

Why? Because the way they lived was an embarrassment to the city administration.

Philadelphia's rulers despised the fact that MOVE members used the last name "Africa," wore dreadlocks, and lived communally. They refused to conform to what city authorities deemed socially acceptable behavior in a capitalist society.

So the cops bombed them.

The cover-up by city officials and cops for their murderous assault began immediately. But almost as rapidly, it began to unravel. The city administration's claim that they had tried every recourse to get MOVE members to leave their homes before dropping the bomb was exposed as a lie. In fact, no serious effort was made to reach a negotiated settlement with MOVE.

The city administration claimed it was forced to bomb the MOVE house because the group was heavily armed and had dug a tunnel to escape. After four days of searching the burned-out rubble of the house, the cops found no automatic weapons, no bombs, no tunnels. Two shotguns, one rifle, and three pistols were all that MOVE members had to defend themselves against the army of cops.

Fire fighters came forward and explained how they had been prevented from fighting the fire. Some went in on their own initiative, defying the fire chief's orders.

And yet, after two years of deliberation, what did the Philadelphia grand jury find? That the dropping of the bomb on the MOVE house was a legitimate use of police power that did not in itself cause the deaths and property damages. That Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor and Fire Commissioner William Richmond did not intend for the fire to spread beyond the roof. That Mayor Goode did not intend for anyone to be killed or harmed by dropping the bomb.

The grand jury findings are not just a belated attempt at another cover-up of the city officials' actions.

Like the murderous assault itself, the grand jury findings lay bare the savagely racist, violent, and anti-working class nature of the capitalist system. For crimes of this scope to go unpunished tells working people everywhere what is in store for them if they move too far outside the bounds of what the capitalist rulers deem acceptable.

All supporters of human rights should condemn the grand jury findings, and renew demands that those responsible for the death and destruction wrought in West Philadelphia two years ago be tried and punished.

The SWP's record: nothing to hide nor be ashamed of

BY DOUG JENNESS

Subscribers who have been reading the *Militant* for the past six weeks know that we devoted extensive coverage to some of the highlights from the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance's successful 15-year fight against FBI spying and harassment.

We expanded the paper by four pages for each of those issues in order to reprint articles and interviews that ap-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

peared in the *Militant* during the case, as well as major excerpts from the 1981 trial testimony of SWP leaders.

In part, we did this to celebrate the victory in the lawsuit. That victory was highlighted on March 17, when the SWP and YSA were notified by the Justice Department that the government was not going to appeal the 1986 ruling by federal Judge Thomas Griesa in favor of the socialist organizations. Griesa's decision found the FBI and other federal police agencies guilty of violating the socialists' constitutional rights and freedom of association.

A year later, Griesa issued an injunction barring the government from using information from its 10 million pages of illegally obtained files on the SWP and YSA.

But in addition to observing this monumental conquest for working people, we also sought to offer readers an opportunity to learn more about the issues in the case and how it was fought.

Personally I found reading this material thought-provoking even though I had read it a few years ago when it first appeared in the paper.

There were many things that struck me, but there's one in particular that stands out: the SWP has nothing to hide; it has no skeletons in the closet.

After a 15-year court battle, in which there was extensive testimony and documentation of virtually every facet of the party's activity and program, the government was never able to prove its contention that the SWP has a hidden agenda, a secret illegal and terrorist position that's different than what it says publicly.

Moreover, it was evident that the SWP has nothing in its past that it is ashamed of, that it wouldn't want working people to find out about. This doesn't mean that it hasn't had a few false starts, overestimated some possibilities, or been slow to respond to some situations. For a party that celebrated its 50th birthday less than six months ago, it could scarcely be otherwise.

But the SWP has always, and usually relatively quickly, corrected itself, maintaining the fundamental course on which it was founded. That course is based on the historically demonstrated fact that the only force that can advance the cause of working people is workers themselves, through our own organizations and actions.

The SWP has never betrayed working people or set up principles separate and apart from workers' interests. It has always strived to act in the interests of the international working class as a whole, not specific sectors of it. That's why there's no chapter in the SWP's history that it's embarrassed to discuss.

Many readers will undoubtedly have become interested in learning more about the SWP as a result of our expanded coverage on the lawsuit victory. In the next several issues I'm going to take up a few aspects of the SWP's history — or more precisely make a few suggestions on where to learn more about it.

Actually there is no history of the SWP. The party was formed and shaped in the cauldron of the working-class struggle against exploitation and political oppression. And its evolution can only be understood as part of the development of that struggle.

The SWP was founded in 1938, but it can trace its political lineage back to 1848 when a distinct working-class communist current in the world labor movement appeared. This was marked by the publication of its *Communist Manifesto* written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Since then there has been a struggle to defend and advance the development of a working-class party with a communist perspective. In two volumes on *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the U.S.* (Pathfinder, New York), Farrell Dobbs, a long-time leader of the SWP who died in 1983, traced the threads of this struggle in the United States.

The first volume deals with the period from 1848 through the October 1917 Russian revolution, and the second with the birth of the communist movement in the United States in the years immediately after the Russian revolution.

I recommend reading both of these to appreciate the political ancestry of the SWP and to understand more clearly its historical goals.

Swift plant: 'Slaughtering hogs, killing people'

BY STEVE MARSHALL

ST. JOSEPH, Mo. — "They're slaughtering hogs over there," Dan said at a union meeting one Thursday night. "And they're killing people."

Dan worked on the kill floor at Swift Independent's pork plant here until last fall. But the electric saw he used all day to split hog carcasses vibrated so badly that it crippled his shoulder.

Meat-packing is already the nation's most dangerous occupation. Now even more injuries are resulting from

UNION TALK

the packing companies' endless demands for speedup and their miserly refusal to observe minimum safety standards.

A discussion is deepening among Swift workers over this growing threat to our physical safety. Some recent events in the plant show why.

With one exception, the following injuries involved a single department of 25 workers. The names used here are not their real ones.

Friday. Bob loses two fingers.

This happens because he was ordered to drive a lift that he had not been trained to operate. The lift changed direction and forced his hand under a sharp metal door guard.

A hospital reattaches the fingers. At 8:00 the next morning, Swift calls Bob in his hospital room to see if he's coming in for work.

Saturday. Dave suffers a pinched nerve in his neck.

He slipped on a wet ladder; the company refused to send him to a doctor.

Monday. We learn that Joanne has suffered 50 percent muscle damage in her left hand.

She has carpal tunnel syndrome, a serious wrist injury, from the high-speed cuts she makes some 9,000 times a day. If she goes ahead with the surgery she needs, the

bosses warn her that she'll lose her job.

Tuesday. A skinning machine rips most of Phil's shirt off.

The machines don't always stop when the footpedal switch is off; the skinners often have to lean over the blades to clear discarded skin. The four skinners were written up last week for not skinning hams fast enough.

Bare-chested, grinning, and shaking, Phil makes his way upstairs for a new shirt. Some workers laugh; others don't.

Jimmy's left arm is numb. Jack's right hand tingles. Louie's out with an infected finger. Al's wrists are bandaged for carpal tunnel. Roy's hand operation was botched. My wrist is in a brace.

These injuries, and worse, afflict dozens and even hundreds of meat-packers in the Swift plant.

Many of them will be fired; others will quit. With a work force of fewer than 450, Swift hires hundreds of new, young workers each year. It's notorious in St. Joseph as a "slave shop."

Swift is controlled by ConAgra, whose 23 percent return on equity makes it one of the most profitable food companies in the world. But the ConAgra millionaires want more. Like all the packing companies, they're on a frenzied drive to wring more profits from our labor.

Meat-packers at Swift have different reactions to the speedup and injuries.

Some young men, proud and brave, see this dangerous work as a sort of rodeo. "I can cut anything they send down the line," they boast.

Others are simply resigned to the conditions in the plant.

Though most blame the company, they don't see a way to turn things around. They hope to find a better job before they get maimed.

Workers are also trying out different ways of fighting back.

Some file grievances and hope our union officials will back them up with arguments strong enough to enforce the contract.

A few hire lawyers to sue the company.

Others seek the intervention of government agencies, like the Labor Department or the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Some workers utilize these and other tactics, seeing them as ways to strengthen the union — to bring the power of our numbers into the battle.

They think that this carnage will be slowed by only one thing: us.

It was conditions like these that played a big role in sparking a wave of strike battles in the meat-packing industry from 1985 to 1987.

What is it that brings meat-packers back day after day to this slave shop? Why hasn't there been a rebellion here?

More than anything else, it's the knowledge that there are thousands of unemployed workers outside the plant who desperately need a job.

The shutdown this week of a General Motors plant in nearby Kansas City reminds us there will be thousands more.

Workers who are working, workers who aren't: the competition among us for jobs is a weapon in the hands of the capitalists.

It's only by joining together — by unifying ourselves — that workers on both sides of the plant gate can fight back.

That's why in preparation for the battles to come our unions will have to fight for something a good deal bigger than grievances on the shop floors.

We'll have to lead a social movement to unify all the workers. That begins today with the fight to win jobs for all.

Steve Marshall was fired from the Swift plant in St. Joseph on April 15 for discussing politics with coworkers. His union, Local P-58 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, is challenging the firing.

LETTERS

Mexican army

I thought *Militant* readers might be interested in this article from the *Toronto Star*.

"MONTREAL — A deserter from the Mexican army has told an immigration hearing that he participated in the roundup and killing of civilians in his country on the orders of a top military official. . . .

"He said he saw orders signed personally by the head of the army and air force, José Hernández Toledo. . . .

"As a member of Mexico's parachutists' brigade from 1977 to 1982, Cruz said he participated in the killing of civilians on 15 to 20 missions. . . .

"Only three or four people from the brigade were chosen for each mission, he explained. Political prisoners were taken from the military prison inside the camp to a firing range near Mexico City where they would be shot. . . .

"Both political prisoners considered troublesome to the regime and peasants were executed.

"Cruz described how he had once helped round up staff members of former state oil company director Jorge Díaz Serrano. The staff members were to be executed to prevent them from testifying against Serrano, accused of defrauding the government of \$34 million. . . ."

A.Y.
Toronto, Canada

Clark Air Base

Having spent two years at Clark Air Base while serving in the U.S. Air Force, I can say that your recent article "Life near a U.S. base in the Philippines" was not only accurate, but merely scratches the surface.

I remember being told while there that only English was permitted to be spoken by the Philippine employees while on base, even at lunch, under threat of being fired. The base itself, at its NCO clubs, hired local men to put on brutal boxing shows in which the boxers were almost demanded to draw blood. The young women were hired to put on sex shows as well.

Racist and sexist attitudes toward Filipinos by lower-ranking GIs were actively encouraged, not only by these shows but also by other more subtle means taken by commanders and other squadron leadership.

The rationale put forward for the poverty of the adjacent town of Angeles was that the U.S. government gave millions of dollars in aid to the country, but the Philippines was too stupid to use it to even put in sidewalks or sewage systems. A more sophisticated argument was that if the Philippines couldn't come up with anything better than dictator Marcos, who stole all the money, well that was their fault too. They were too stupid to come up with a real democracy, like we had.

The average GI does not live particularly well anywhere except on overseas bases like the Philippines, where the dollar exchange on the black market is often such as to make GI pay a luxurious income. And it is luxurious by comparison with what it could afford in the United States, but more so in comparison with the abject poverty of the Philippines.

Kaethejean Bleicher
Everett, Washington

Dreyfus case

The article by Vivian Sahner comparing the Dreyfus case to the Socialist Workers Party's was quite appropriate.

Militant readers might appreciate the parody of the Dreyfus case drawn by Anatole France in his classic *Penguin Island*.

General Greatauk, chief of staff, is retiring and turning everything over to his replacement, General Panther, including the "Top Secret" file on Pyrot (Dreyfus). "This case is a gem, my life's dream," said Greatauk. "Its beauty is that there is no proof and therefore the proof cannot be disproved. . . . Keep it that way."

Panther took over, but in time became nervous. After checking the file and confirming that there was no proof, he decided to collect some. "Six months later the 'proofs' against Pyrot filled two stories of the Ministry of War. The ceiling fell in beneath the weight"

of the documents of proof. Along came Columbar (Emile Zola) who found that not one single document mentioned the name of Pyrot.

After 12 years of imprisonment, Pyrot was freed.
Paul Montauk
Oakland, California

Metro North

I am writing this letter on behalf of the 800 employees of the Metro North Commuter Railroad, a division of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA).

For the past two and half years, we have been embroiled in contract negotiations with Metro North, but to no avail. There has been total unwillingness on the part of Metro North to bargain in good faith.

I will give some background to illustrate the problem we face. We are former Conrail employees who in 1981 were asked to defer 12 percent of our wages to save Conrail. In 1983 the MTA created Metro North to run this commuter railroad.

In 1987 we received a check and some stock in Conrail, which has a value that is subject to the whims of Wall Street moguls. Conrail states that the check and stock covers the amounts owed to us, the workers of Metro North, under the terms of the Wage Deferral Plan. To date, the 12 percent wage deferral has not been rolled into the hourly wage rate for the now Metro North employees.

In 1988 we find ourselves working without sick days. One must work for eight years to earn one personal day, and nine more years for the second.

There is no night differential. We work in the rain, snow, heat, dirt, and dust. The average tool weighs 20 pounds.

Through our union, Teamsters Local 808, we have told Metro North and the MTA that we want the same wages and benefits that are being paid to our counterparts on the Long Island Railroad. We stand on the principle of "equal pay for equal work."

We ask for the public's support



Herb Block

in our quest for parity for all Metro North workers.

Please send your letters in support of the Metro North workers to: Chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, Mr. R. Kiley, 347 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.
Fitz-Verity C. Silvera
Cambria Heights, New York

A people's victory

It is my deepest regret that I'm unable to attend our victory rally in the socialists' suit against the FBI. I'm unable to attend April 23 because I am being held in captivity. Yet I feel better today, knowing that your victory was my victory.

I have asked myself, how can it be, how could the people win such a noble prize from the Justice Department during the tenure of the most reactionary administration in

the 20th century?

I know it was a people's victory. But I am fighting to respond adequately. How does someone respond knowing that you have wounded the greatest beast and predator of mankind? Fully knowing that he will lash out again, and this time it may cost the death and suffering of millions.

I call to you and all loyal people like yourself. It is a cry to battle stations, because the fight has just begun.

A prisoner
Newark, New Jersey

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

British seafarers defy employers

Support for strike grows after gov't impounds union funds

BY TONI GORTON

LONDON — Thousands of seafarers around Britain are battling to defend their union from a massive attack by the shipping companies.

Dock workers from the Merseyside in Liverpool have called for a national dockers' strike to back the seafarers.

French maritime workers in the port city of Calais have been refusing to service or handle ships operated by scab crews.

In addition, hundreds of independent lorry drivers (truckers) from several countries, who are trying to get goods across the English Channel, have blockaded the ports of Dover in England, and Calais and Dunkirk in France. They are protesting a quota system that limits the number of lorries that can be carried by the few operating ferries.

Some of the drivers who are not independent contractors have been fired by their bosses.

The seafarers' strike began February 2. Members of the National Union of Seamen walked off the job in Dover trying to prevent a union-busting attempt by P&O European Ferries. Management is trying to eliminate jobs and make drastic inroads into wages and working conditions of seafarers who operate ferries between Britain and the European continent.

In the course of the dispute, the NUS has had all its assets seized by the courts. And the union has been fined £150,000 (nearly \$300,000). The court action came after the union defied an antilabor law that prohibits solidarity job action from being taken by workers not directly involved in a strike.

After the court injunction came down, the strike spread to several other shipping companies.

Maersk, a Scandinavian-owned company, had the cops evict NUS members who were sitting-in on its oil supply vessels. The unionists were replaced by scabs from outside of Britain.

Three other companies that operate supply vessels between Scottish ports and the North Sea oil rigs are now trying to run with scabs after firing NUS members.

P&O refused to allow the crew of its luxury cruise liner *Canberra* to go ashore or to receive telephone calls in a bid to keep those seafarers from joining the strike. But 25 union members walked off the ship anyway.

The NUS has constantly reiterated its willingness to negotiate an end to the strike.

The union leadership held talks with Sealink after that company offered jobs to 450 of the 1,000 seafarers fired by P&O. But a spokesperson from the Dover strike committee declared, "There are 1,000 unemployed and we will not accept any deal that leaves one of us out of work."

The NUS members are not receiving strike benefits. But a national hardship fund has been established in the headquarters of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers Union.

In addition, support groups for the seafarers are springing up throughout the country as happened during the 1984-85 miners' strike.

The Labour Party National Executive Committee has unanimously passed a resolution calling for the "Labour movement to show support in every possible way," to the NUS.

A national demonstration will be held in Dover on May 21. Speakers will include NUS General Secretary Sam McCluskie, Labour Party Member of Parliament Dennis Skinner, and Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Contributions and support messages can be sent to Seafarers Hardship Fund, Transport House, Smith Square, London, NW1, England.



Truckers blockading entrance to Dover seaport where seafarers are on strike. Independent truckers carried out similar actions in French ports of Calais and Dunkirk. They are protesting cuts in traffic allowed across English Channel during strike.

France: behind vote for ultrarightist

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — Socialist Party candidate François Mitterrand was elected to a second term as French president on May 8, defeating Jacques Chirac of the conservative Rally for the Republic Party.

But the strong showing by Jean-Marie Le Pen, candidate of the far-right National Front Party, in first-round voting on April 24, cast a shadow over the entire election.

Mitterrand was first elected president in 1981. He was reduced to a figurehead after the Socialist Party was badly defeated by a coalition led by Chirac in the 1986 parliamentary elections. Chirac then became the country's prime minister. The period between 1986 and 1988 marked the first time since 1958 that the president and prime minister were members of different parties.

French elections take place in two stages, with the two front-runners from the first round squaring off against each other in a runoff.

In the first round of this election, Mitterrand received 34.4 percent of the vote. Most workers voted for him. Chirac came in second with 19.8 percent.

The Communist Party candidate, André Lajoie, received just under 7 percent of the vote.

But a national debate was sparked off after Le Pen received 14.4 percent of the ballots cast. Le Pen's National Front is a racist party of the extreme right whose solution for the problem of growing unemployment, decreasing real wages, and a developing housing crisis is to expel North Africans and other "non-European" immigrants from France.

A small but significant minority of small shopkeepers, peasants, and workers — both employed and unemployed — have fallen for this reactionary line.

Economic crisis

Support for the National Front has increased as the economic crisis in France has deepened. This crisis has been developing slowly but steadily for several years. Unemployment, which has risen in

13 out of the last 15 years, is currently around 10.5 percent.

Whole regions of the country have been devastated by factory closures. In the region of Alsace-Lorraine and in the North, where many steel mills and coal mines have been shut down, Le Pen received between 20 and 25 percent of the first-round vote.

A recent strike by underground coal miners in this region, almost all of whom

are immigrants from Morocco, was at first opposed by the more skilled, mainly white surface miners and by some maintenance workers.

The surface and underground miners have separate unions but both are affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). The CGT is led by members of the Communist Party.

After some hesitation, the CGT supported the strike. But some of the surface

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Palestinian activist fights Israeli deportation attempt

BY HARRY RING

The Israeli supreme court has ordered Mubarak Awad to be held in prison until May 23. By then it will hand down a decision on the order that he be deported from his birthplace, Jerusalem. Awad has been on a hunger strike since he was jailed May 5.

Awad is an advocate of nonviolent resistance to the Israeli oppression of the Palestinian people. The order to deport him has evoked broad protest in Israel and internationally. Israelis and Palestinians have picketed outside the jail. Even Washington has objected.

The deportation order exposes the Israeli government's claim that it is lashing out only at those who engage in "violence."

Awad was born in East Jerusalem. With the Israeli takeover there in 1967, he was granted permanent residence. In 1969 he came to the United States. He returned to his homeland about four years ago and established the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence.

In revoking his residency, the Israeli government charged that the center was financed by the Palestine Liberation Organization and that Awad had organized or participated in violence.

Responding to his appeal against the deportation order, these trumped-up charges were dropped and the government limited

itself to the assertion that he has "incited" violence.

One Israeli official explained, "This nonviolence is a smart way to trigger Israeli violence and thus incite the uprising."

Meanwhile, the Israeli government was feeling the repercussions of its bloody hit-and-run raid into Lebanon.

May 10 the United Nations Security Council voted 14 to 1 to condemn the action. The lone dissenting vote, vetoing the resolution, was cast by the U.S. delegate.

In Lebanon, the May 3-4 Israeli operation had run into apparently unanticipated resistance by armed Lebanese.

Dubbed, perhaps ironically, "Operation Law and Order," the incursion involved up to 2,000 Israeli soldiers along with a supplementary force of the South Lebanese Army, a paramilitary outfit organized by the Israelis.

The springboard for the operation was Israel's "security zone" within Lebanon, a border area, six to 10 miles wide, which it took after its 1982 invasion of that country.

The incursion brought Israeli troops within five miles of Syrian forces stationed in Lebanon. Israeli gunners shelled one village that included a Syrian outpost.

The operation began with a sweep of eight villages, with the helpless residents

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